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ABSTRACT

This monograph continues an analysis of group day care as a social institution, particularly as it has developed in southern California. Part I discussed ways in which communities obtain day care facilities, concentrating on changes in community opinion and environment which influence the existence of day care centers. Part II focuses on the decision-making process with regard to the background of problems met in setting up community day care. The role of money as a great facilitator is emphasized throughout the report. Licensing, standards, and staffing of day care facilities are examined. However, communities should recognize that idealized standards do not, in themselves, promote quality. Rather, committed leaders who can find a responsive environment for quality day care programs are vitally important. How the leadership network came into being and how it operates to promote its concerns is discussed. A consideration of issues bearing on the future of day care concludes the report. Appendixes include questionnaires used in the preparation of this report, qualifications for a children's center permit, and the permit authorizing service in instruction in children's centers. (NH)

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Final Report

AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF DAY CARE PROGRAM

Part II

Group Day Care: The Growth of an Institution

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with

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July, 1970

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter   Page

Introduction 1

I   THE LICENSING PROCESS AND HOW IT WORKS 3

The Application 4
Supervision-Consultation 16
Who Are the Applicants? Review of a One-Year Sample . 19
Who Loves a Licensing Representative? The Licensed View the Licensing Division 23
Public Relations 29

II   THE LICENSING FUNCTION: AN OLD FROG IN AN UNPOPULAR PUDDLE 33

Jurisdiction: Who Is to be Licensed? 33
Standards: Mini or Maxi? 40
A Magnum Opus -- the '53 Standards 44
Variations in Regulatory Practices 48

III   INSIDE THE PUDDLE: THE LICENSING DIVISION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE 50

Staffing a Licensing Unit 54
How to Get Things Done in a Bureaucratic Department . 62
Are California's Problems Universal? 65

IV   CHILDREN'S CENTERS: LITTLE FROG IN A BIG POPULAR PUDDLE . 67

Public Support of Day Care: Federal Funding 68
The Transition to State Funding 71
Day Care in the Public Schools: How It Happened . . . 75

V   MARGINALITY IN A BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEM: STRATEGIES FOR SURVIVAL 80

Administrative Arrangements 80
The Problem of Marginal Status 84
What Makes the Children's Centers Tick? 93
End of an Era: The Future of the California Children's Centers 101
The Umbrella Concept 104
Summary 105

X

Chapter Page

VI THE LEADERSHIP NETWORK 106

Personal Risk-Taking in a Marginal Profession 106
Teacher Education: The Role of the Colleges 113
Can a Network Work? 118
Strategies for Effective Leadership 131

VII THE PUDDLE IS GROWING: DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE 140

Inadequate Homes: Day Care as a Panacea 142
On the Day Care Bandwagon: Unlimited Expansion 151
Assets 157
Problems 160
Solutions 165

APPENDIX

A1 Telephone Interview Schedule Concerning License Applications 173
B1 Questionnaire Sent to Other States Concerning Day Care Practices 174
C1 Qualifications for Children's Center Permit . . . 176
C2 Permit Authorizing Service in Instruction in Children's Centers 179
D1 Leadership Questionnaire 181

BIBLIOGRAPHY 182

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The first paragraph of our acknowledgements to Part I is even more appropriate to Part II, namely: This manuscript obviously could not have been written without the help of those who participated in the events described. We wish to express a deep appreciation to all of our informants not only for their help, but especially for their generosity; their willingness to give of time and experience has impressed upon us the importance of the dimension of commitment in understanding good care for young children.

We would particularly like to thank Selma Zorin, long time supervisor of Day Nursery Licensing, Department of Social Welfare, whose vivid memory and broad knowledge of the early days of licensing were invaluable.

Originally we had planned to discuss recent developments. We finally decided to omit much that has happened in the last two to three years. Partly we did so because facts and issues seemed so fluid and as yet unclear. Under these circumstances, we did not trust our objectivity. Partly, we did not see our description of certain problems as helpful to those trying to solve them.

A study such as this presents unlimited opportunities for error both in the reporting of facts and in their omission. Most difficult were the decisions concerning what to include and what to omit. We take full responsibility for these decisions and hope that our overall conclusions will prove accurate and useful.

INTRODUCTION

This monograph is a continuation of an institutional analysis of group day care for young children as it has developed in southern California. In Part I, Group Day Care: A Study in Diversity, we discussed the ways in which the communities of Los Angeles County have obtained facilities for group care of young children. The charitable day nursery, the church nursery, and the proprietary nursery all were established through the efforts of private organizations or individuals. The other major impetus for day care in California was the federal initiation which brought WPA nurseries, wartime child care centers, and, more recently, Head Start. Sponsorship, whether public or private, characteristically determines many important aspects of the program. It lays the groundwork for the financing. Generally it determines the kinds of physical settings which will be used. Often it determines from which labor pool the staff will be obtained, and usually it determines which kinds of clientele will use the services. All of these factors contribute to the quality and comprehensiveness of the service which is offered.

Circumstances, such as wars, which encourage community commitment to maternal employment consistently have resulted in a much more favorable climate for establishment of day care facilities. As we have pointed out in Part I through a series of case histories, a day care center is highly dependent on the environment which a community provides. Adverse changes in this supporting environment can easily push a center out of existence. Conversely, favorable changes will enable survival and perhaps expansion. These changes were discussed in Part I as environmental stresses relating to (1) the physical site, such as an increase in land values, zoning restrictions, and costs of meeting restrictive building codes, (2) population characteristics, such as population shifts which decrease the numbers of families who want or can pay for services, (3) ability to command staff resources, such as adequacy of wages which can be paid, and (4) administrative constraints inherent in certain decision-making structures and regulatory agencies. The solutions which the community is willing to accept to the problems posed by these stresses will determine, to a marked degree, the quality of services.

An organization is not static. Once it is established, its survival becomes a primary goal of its members, and, once this is secure, usually they will seek to promote their vested interests in the organization. This phenomenon can be observed in the struggles which have occurred over regulation of quality of services. Whether services are publicly or privately sponsored, the community ultimately decides what guarantees of quality it is willing to support. The decision often is made indirectly and through abstention -- or is doggedly pushed by a concerned minority (which carefully gauges the possibility for support or opposition).

Out of these conflicts and their resolution a social institution -- "an enduring aspect of collective life controlled by rules, customs, rituals, or laws" (English and English, 1958) begins to emerge. For example, the public elementary school is an established institution, while public kindergartens are less well established but generally accepted as desirable. Day care, on the other hand, is only now emerging as an aspect of our collective life. A social institution needs social consensus. Consensus can be expressed by attitudes of recognition, laws or regulations (such as compulsory attendance in public schools) and willingness to allocate resources to the institution's support.

Throughout this report, we shall attempt to focus on the decision-making process to determine the background of the problems, the nature of the conflicts, and the influences which determined the outcomes 1/. The background for most of the decision-making to be described centers around the two state departments which regulate day care services -- the State Department of Social Welfare, through which private out-of-home care for children is supervised, and the State Department of Education, which administers, through local school districts, a state-sponsored day care program for young children. The actors who bring life and forward movement to the issues and conflicts to be described form the leadership network. The group life of the leadership network has a dynamism apart from the individuals who contribute their time and efforts and plays a crucial role in fostering day care as an emerging social institution.

In the chapters which follow we shall begin by examining the ways in which regulation of day care facilities for young children differs according to public and private sponsorship. Then we will focus on the role of the leadership network, how it came into being and how it operates to promote its concerns. A consideration of issues bearing on the future of day care will conclude this report.

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[1] See Part I, Chapter I, Milich, Prescott, Jones (1969) for a description of theoretical perspectives and a summary of methodology.

CHAPTER I

THE LICENSING PROCESS AND HOW IT WORKS

> Licensing is not a panacea. It is not a maximum, it is a minimum. It is the floor below which standards cannot go.
>
> Selma Zorin [1]

One form of protection which a community offers its citizens is a safeguard against incompetence of professionals, such as doctors, dentists, and lawyers and (in California) tradesmen, such as plumbers, barbers, and contractors. These service-givers are required to demonstrate adequate training and competence before being permitted to practice and, once established, are supervised by boards or organizations composed of their peers.

The community can also safeguard its citizens by regulating the physical facility within which certain services are offered. For example, a permit is required to operate a hospital, a convalescent home, or a restaurant. This certification, in itself, is not a guarantee of the skill of the surgeon and nurse or the expertise of the chef. It only guarantees that certain physical requirements, considered essential for the performance of the service, have been met.

In like manner, the community also assumes certain protective responsibilities for young children who receive care from persons other than relatives outside their own home. Although the way in which this protective function is exercised differs markedly depending on private or public sponsorship, in both cases preventive regulation assumes that certain standards will be met before the services are offered and that, once established, these standards will be maintained. In California private facilities are regulated by State Department of Social Welfare licensing, a form of protection which regulates both the physical facility and its staff.

Licensing of child care services in California has a long history, and logically this story might begin there, but the understanding of many historical issues is contingent on knowledge of the licensing process as it now functions. Therefore, our story will begin with the day nursery licensing procedure as it now functions in the community. The work of the licensing division has two major aspects -- the processing of new applications and the issuing of renewals to facilities which continue to meet standards. 2/

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[1] Former supervisor, day nursery licensing, southern California, State Department of Social Welfare.

The Application

Of the many people in a community who, at one time or another, think about starting a day nursery, only a few actually follow through to the stage of licensing. The licensing division, however, must cope with these many persons through a series of early phases until those who can and do qualify are winnowed out from those who don't.

The Initial Inquiry

Each month the Los Angeles Day Nursery Licensing Division receives an average of 800 to 900 inquiries, usually by telephone, many from persons asking for information about starting a day nursery. At this time each person is asked how many children he plans to serve, because the county, not the state licensing division, licenses homes for fewer than ten children. Potential applicants are told that the Department cannot answer many inquiries over the phone, but invites them to come to a group meeting which is held every Wednesday morning at the licensing division.

A majority of inquirers will never come to the meeting. The average attendance at these meetings is highest during the spring and early summer, since applicants hope to open in September, and it drops off during December and January. Statistics on attendance are kept by individual facilities represented, not by number of persons attending. During the year 1969, 874 facilities were represented. This figure has increased thirty-three percent since 1967.

Wednesday Morning at the Licensing Division: Report on an Orientation Meeting for Applicants

The applicants present at the meeting our observer attended represented a broad spectrum of status. They included both the old and the young, although the majority were probably in their mid-thirties. According to her report,

> There were two grey-haired men, half a dozen young men, including one articulate black militant, half a dozen young middle-class

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[2] For a comprehensive and authoritative statement on licensing, see Norris Class (1968b).

Negro women, and many housewife types. Most applicants arrived in pairs, although one group was comprised of six people. From the questions people asked, I deduced that few were qualified to act as their own director. One young man clearly knew very little about young children, but appeared eager to learn; one man (Caucasian) apparently was involved with a Head Start group, as were several of the Negro women. The group numbered approximately 50 persons -- 14 were Negro, 18 were men.

Miss L., day nursery licensing representative, addressed the group:

> Will you please call me for an interview? We give no appointments on Wednesday, unless you are fifty miles away. We have field representatives to help you in areas outside of Los Angeles. You will have to wait two to three weeks for most appointments. We have a three week backlog. This is our busiest time of year. It takes sixty to ninety days to process an application. We can't promise a license by September, primarily because of building problems. The license itself costs nothing.

Miss L. then gave a brief history of the Department and the code which gives authorization to the Department of Social Welfare to license. She continued:

> Care of children under two is licensed only in family homes. We feel infants do not do well in large groups and need a mother-person.
>
> Day Care
>
> This includes children ages two to six and extended day care. (Miss L. asked if anyone in the meeting was interested in Co-ops. Four people including one young Negro man raised their hands.) A license is issued on the basis of our findings as to whether you are ready and able to meet the regulations. A license is issued for one year only. It stipulates 1) the number of children to be cared for and 2) the hours you operate. It must be renewed each year. This determination is made by field representatives who observe during the year. Licenses are issued to corporations, partnerships, or individuals.
>
> There must be a qualified person in charge of the day care facility at all times. There must be a director with a satisfactory background. The minimum amount of qualifications for director is one year full time paid employment under the experience of a qualified director, OR 12 units in nursery education. These are very low qualifications; we are in the process of upgrading them.

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Your references, fingerprints, etc. will be screened. The new regulations will not pertain to persons already employed (grandfather clause). The director could be a registered nurse or a teacher or etc., but she must possess the training specified. The director must be 21 or over, of good character, and in good health, a full-time person (at least eight hours). There must be a responsible adult in charge when the director is absent.

If an organization sponsors the day care facility there must be a paid director employed. We recommend that you be qualified so you can have the director's salary. This is the only place to make a profit.

There must be teachers in the ratio of one for every ten children. The teacher must be at least eighteen years of age or under the supervision of an adult. She must be of good character and health. These regulations place much responsibility on the director. There are no academic requirements for teachers. We are working on them.

You will need a cook and housekeeper. The teacher's job is with the children and is not that of a cleaning woman. The time of the teacher must be given to the children. Just recently a teacher left a center because she was asked to sweep floors and wash dishes while the children were napping; this is not the job of a teacher.

Program of Services of Day Care Facility

We expect you to be able to describe your program, know what a good program is. It must be conducive to the total welfare of the child. It must not be merely a baby-sitting program. If that is what you want, you don't belong here. Care and training of young children is more important than the elementary years. These are the most formative years. This is especially true in day care - to have good centers is very important.

Financial Plan

A financial plan is essential. The day care center is not an automatic self-starter. It requires a substantial sum of money. It won't earn a profit in the first few months. You must have cash reserves plus enough to start with. There must be no failures. Most failures are due to poor financial plan and expectation of profit. Sometimes profit can be delayed two years unless you're in an advantageous position like a church, and well known in the community. Parents will look you over and expect a large enrollment. If you have only three children, they will be suspicious. (Your best advertisement is through your mothers and word of mouth.) We need written confirmation of plans. We ask many personal questions. If, for example, you're going to leave your job and start a day care facility, we will ask you how you're going to meet the needs of your family. We know if you don't have another source of income, you are going to take it out of the nursery school funds. The whole program of licensing is for the benefit of the child.

Physical Plant

This causes the most hang-ups and is one of the real problems. The first thing to do, if you have a site, is to check with the local building and planning department. Day care facilities must be in a special zone. This information is available through the city zoning commission. Each city has its own zoning regulations. Tell them you are going to start a day nursery, not a day school; these are in different classifications. The department may give a zoning variance. This involves a substantial sum of money and takes six months. To find out if the piece of property is worth while, make an appointment to discuss the building with the Department of Social Welfare. See us before you get involved in a lease. Don't let a real estate person force you into it. Make him give you a contingency clause to meet all state and local requirements. You must check with five governmental agencies:

1. The zoning commission
2. The Department of Social Welfare -- we will give you an interview to which you should bring your building plans.
3. The city building department -- ask them for a survey of the building and a certificate of occupancy. This must be changed for you to operate a day care facility.
4. The fire department
5. The health department

Bring the floor plans of the building to the Department of Social Welfare and we will help you plan remodeling. Many centers have been restaurants, dry cleaning establishments, etc. All this will cost money. The city asks for fees. The building department may tell you you must have a new roof, foundation, etc.

We take responsibility for checking with the fire department. The site must be cleared with the state fire marshal who must clear it with the city fire department, who must clear it with the city building department.

The health department must approve sanitation. When we give you an application, we notify the health and fire department. You may file as soon as you have a building. You cannot file an application until then. We will give you an interview beforehand, however. If the plan falls through, the application is withdrawn. People have come in on four or five different locations. Sometimes they come in two and three years later. This is nothing to hurry into. It takes a special person; day care is not easy. Caring for children all day is a great responsibility. You must be a father-mother substitute.

Building Plan

If you're looking at a building, allow a minimum of thirty-five square feet usuable play space per child. This is not based on the square footage per building. We do not count kitchens, cupboards, bathrooms, etc. Some building departments require fifty square feet. You must meet your local city ordinances. Windows must be equal to one-eighth of floor space. Most building departments require one-sixth. The floor must be covered with a washable, safe covering. (There is indoor - outdoor carpeting in almost all new facilities.) A wood floor is acceptable if it is in good condition. There must be adequate heating. (The fire marshal checks this.) Bathrooms are very important. They must be convenient for the child to use. They should be immediately adjacent to play rooms so the child can go by himself. You can't expect a child to wait long for the bathroom. They must not be in another building or outside, where you will need extra staff for the bathroom. The teachers shouldn't have to take the child to the bathroom. Play rooms should be large enough for 18 to 20 children and two teachers. Too small rooms create waste space. They are useless if they accommodate under eight children and that size room will not support a teacher. Toilets need to be in a ratio of one to fourteen children. You co not have to segregate children, under six, as to sex, in the bathroom. In extended day care they must be separated with the ratio of one toilet to 15 children. (For extended day care, we require group experience rather than nursery school experience for the teachers.)

You will need an office. You can also use this room for isolation and a staff rest room, if your nursery is small (that is, under 30 children). The staff must have a 45 minute break in every eight hour day. There must be a separate bathroom for staff. You will need a kitchen in a full day program. Each child must have a mother-person and have his own room and teacher to identify with. In the nursery school we have age-group rooms. In extended day care, older children have a balanced program (i.e., activity rooms). In the school-age program teachers are called "counselors"; the children prefer this name. Extended day care facilities are called "club", "camp", etc. These children have graduated. They have been in day nurseries all their lives and want more grown-up titles. There must be a utility room.

The Outside Yard

There must be 75 square feet per child. Local building departments vary. Some require 100 square feet, some require 125. One city requires 200 square feet. This is a small town and really unrealistic. We suggested the applicant go back and talk to them. They had had no experience -- and came down to 100 feet! A yard must be fenced. A six-foot chain-link fence is the most preferable. Often you need to keep people out as well as children in. A block wall is all right, but a child should be in touch with his environment. He shouldn't be in a prison-like yard, but sometimes the building department requires a block wall. It is sometimes needed in special circumstances (to please next door neighbors, etc.). There should be dirt or grass covering mostly and a small asphalt area for wheel toys. There needs to be some soft surface under the play equipment. Hard-top is not good in southern California. The children get too warm and it's hard on the feet. Some hard-top areas can be made attractive with trees in tubs, vines, canopies (aluminum). These provide shade, attractive surroundings. Use grass whenever you can. The hardy types are best. There must be water for children to get their own drinks. You should have paper cups in a sink or fountain.

Liability

This is not required by law but is recommended. We don't have many accidents, but you should be prepared. No piece of play equipment should be higher than a teacher can reach. Equipment should be varied. It must contribute to creative and safe play. Parents complain about junk yards -- but sometimes this is important for children. Anything is legal as long as it is safe. You will need basic equipment. This is expensive, but you can get a few things and add to it.

Question Period

"How long does it take to get an appointment?" A. Two to six weeks.

"What basic equipment is needed?" A. Swing, jungle gym, walking boards, etc.

"Are the regulations the same for Head Start?" A. Some are well equipped, some are not. There is much variation in Head Start facilities. We use our own guidelines 3/.

"What are the state requirements for after nine at night?" A. This is not day care. This is twenty-four hour care. It's called baby sitting, if it's in the child's own home. If it's outside of the home it's child care and must be licensed.

"Is there a limit on hours? Can you be open in the evening?" A. Normal waking hours of child. If open after six, you have to give the child his evening meal. The hours could be 5:30 to 7:00. Most mothers don't need that. It doesn't pay to be open for only a few children.

"What about other evening hours?" A. You must be licensed under twenty-four hour care (not called foster home, but twenty-four hour care; under Children's Institutions).

"I'm from San Diego. Can I get help there?" A. We will refer you to a man down there.

"For a small nursery school (9 - 12 children) must you have two people?" A. Yes, at least one teacher.

"If I'm already working for the county, keeping children in my own home,must I give up my other license?" A. You could set up a co-op, having a different license. You could keep your license for having children in your own home.

"Can you have one license for two nurseries?" A. No, you must have a separate license for each.

"Can I file an application while I'm waiting for a zoning variance?" A. Yes.

"Concerning director requirements. I've been a recreation director and worked with preschool children. Is that O.K.?" A. Yes.

"Two of us want to have a financial partnership. Must we both be present at the day care facility all the time?" A. You can be co-directors, interchange duties, hours.

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[3] In Los Angeles County Head Start Centers are not licensed by the State Department of Social Welfare licensing division. The reasons will be given in the next chapter.

"Must I have a director?" A. Yes, if you don't have experience. You must be subordinate to the director if you want to teach in your own school.

"Do you need training and experience for a small nursery school?" A. You can only have ten children in a family home. You don't need any training or experience. This is usually limited by the state to six children. If you prove to be good it may go up to ten. (The group of applicants shows real interest here.)

"Regarding the requirements for director, is twelve units of elementary education O.K.?" A. No, unless you have nursery school curriculum etc. We must check your transcript.

"If I can prove that twenty years ago I taught in a nursery school for two and a half years would this do?" A. Yes.

"The sixty to ninety days you mentioned for processing application -- is that an estimate or does it actually take that time?" A. That's the average -- some take more, some take less.

"Can a director be in the process of taking courses?" A. No, she must have it already.

"Is a day care facility always open five days?" A. Generally, yes, but they could be open longer. I don't know of any that are open six days.

"How do you determine thirty-five square feet?" A. Each room is evaluated individually. Anything stationary is counted against this figure.

"Is there a specific hour that one must open in the morning?" A. The average is six-thirty to seven.

"What is the prevailing wage for a director?" A. One hundred dollars per week and up.

'With respect to the building, is it feasible to have a trailer?" A. No, this is considered transportation by the building department.

"Does Head Start experience count?" A. Yes.

"Is a swimming pool O.K.?" A. Yes, if it's fenced. You must have a person with a life saving certificate if it is going to be used. If it isn't it must be locked and fenced and only the director should have a key.

"Are cots required?" A. Yes, it's too drafty to lie on the floor.

"What if you have two types of children -- day care and extended day care?" A. They must have separate play rooms. You can't combine extended day care with nursery school children; it's too dangerous. The older ones are too active and aggressive.

"I want a day care center near a school grounds. Can you have extended day care on the school grounds?" A. If you, as a private individual, are responsible, we license. If the school accepts responsibility, we don't. The Jet Set program for children who economically don't qualify for Head Start, uses school facilities. The school lets them use the school room, but we license since the school accepts no responsibility.

"Must a child have a specific teacher?" A. Yes, the child needs a mother-person. You can't have activity rooms in a nursery school. They have to have their own play room. We prefer a group structure according to age. (We don't encourage flexible grouping.)

"Can you use student teachers?" A. Yes, especially if you are near a college. Men and boy students are very good. It's very good to have a man around for the children. Particularly the little boys.

"Do you need a separate license for extended day care and for the nursery school facility?" A. No, not if it's at one location.

"Must the building be stucco?" A. It should be. Generally the fire department will not approve a frame building.

"Can I have Head Start classes in the morning, and use the building for day care in the afternoon?" A. Yes, if you meet the requirements. But you can have only children who do not need a nap. Only four-year-olds in the afternoon program.

"Is R-4 zone (multiple residential) acceptable?" A. In Los Angeles, it's usually C-2 (commercial). C-1 (light commercial) zoning is not always a guarantee of day care acceptability. (The applicant is associated with a church.)

"I want to build an apartment building with day care facilities -- is this acceptable?" A. Yes, but you should clear the plans with us and the nursery school must be on the first floor.

"What is the average cost of insurance?" A. It's expensive and hard to get. Southern California Association for the

Education of Young Children has special rates. Pre-School Association has group insurance.

"Must I have a licensed cook?" A. No, but she must have some knowledge of nutrition. Food costs are running, on the average, 50¢ to 55¢ per child now.

"Can you give a cost breakdown?" A. No, but we give food planning help. We suggest going to an architect who plans nursery schools. We and the health department don't necessarily agree! (on requirements)

A woman in the audience suggests following the elementary school menus printed in the newspaper for ideas on food. Miss L. says, "We don't approve of elementary menus for the nursery school. It is inappropriate for the nursery school age child."

During her lecture, Miss L. emphasized licensing laws were for the benefit of the children, and that there was little monetary profit in day care. By their questions, the applicants indicated they were interested in specialized types of programs (see questions) i.e., evening hours, Saturday care, small groups in one's own home (advantage: qualifications not required, no director needed), day care in multiple dwelling complex, etc.

The Formal Application

Of all the persons who attend the group meeting, the Department estimates that only one-third will reach the stage of filing an application. Some will drop out after the meeting. For those who are still interested, the next step is an application interview. This interview usually lasts from one to one and one-half hours. Its purpose is to ascertain whether the potential applicant is ready to make formal application. At this time his ability to meet the standards for education and experience, his financial status, and plans for a physical facility are explored.

In the past, all of these interviews have been conducted by an intake division, but now the case load has become too heavy and the overflow is given to the worker in whose territory the nursery is to be established. Although these workers are less experienced in dealing with questions and problems which arise at the time of licensing, such an arrangement permits them to become acquainted with the director and the facility before assuming supervisory responsibilities.

This interview usually has one of three outcomes: (1) the applicant realizes that he cannot qualify and decides not to file; (2) the applicant cannot qualify, but hopes to return when he has plans which are more realistic; or (3) the applicant appears ready to proceed and the worker gives him an application packet.

Once an applicant has been given application forms, the probability that he will file is very high. Among applicants who file a formal application, the attrition rate is low. During the last four years the outcomes for applicants have been as follows:

TABLE 1

NEW APPLICANTS -- OUTCOMES

Outcomes (N=346)	Year Application Filed 1965 (N=92)	 1966 (N=89)	 1967 (N=82)	 1968 (N=83)
Licensed	63.0%	78.6%	74.4%	57.8%
Withdrawn by applicant	23.9	13.5	14.6	34.9
Closed or pending	7.6	6.7	9.7	6.0
Denied	5.4	1.1	1.2	1.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As can be seen, few licenses are denied. When this does occur it is usually due to inability of the applicant to obtain a fire clearance or less frequently a building and safety clearance. It is rare for the denial to be initiated by the State Department of Social Welfare. However, the low denial rate also reflects Department procedures which enable an applicant to withdraw whenever he realizes that there are regulations to which he cannot comply.

In making an application, the applicant must submit information about himself, his plans, and the physical facility.

Personal information. The applicant will be asked to list his previous employment history, his education and special training. He must also submit character references and a statement of criminal record accompanied by fingerprints. There is not staff time for rigorous checking all of this information.

His fingerprints will be checked and his statement on criminal record verified. If the applicant's training and experience are local, the worker may check with the school director or training teacher. References are by letter and are seldom checked. Consequently, if an applicant reported training and education from another state, there would not be verification. The interviewer must rely primarily on her judgment of the interaction between herself and the applicant as they work on the common task of checking out the total operation of the facility.

Finances. A licensing regulation which eliminates many persons and keeps shoestring operations from opening is the requirement of verification of financial stability: "A statement confirming sufficient financial reserves to cover initial investment and a minimum of three months of operational costs" 4/. In addition the applicant is required to specify by category his estimate of operational costs and to provide an estimate of his initial investment, including cost of building (rent or mortgage), purchase of business (good will and equipment), cost of additional equipment (kitchen, office, and isolation, furniture, indoor and outdoor play, supplies and materials, etc.).

Physical plant. Many applicants find that they cannot comply with regulations for the physical plant. This area of the application is especially difficult because successful completion means that four departments - Fire, Health, Building and Safety, and Social Welfare - have passed on it. In addition, there may be special ordinances which apply in any one of the patchwork of communities which comprise the jurisdiction of the southern California licensing division.

Final steps. The application procedure moves through a series of steps from the general to the specific. Ideally, at each step, the responsibilities of the applicant are clarified, especially the concept that the burden of the proof rests with him to bring the specified plans and information to the licensing worker.

When the procedure is completed, a license and covering letter are mailed to the applicant. The license spells out the conditions for issuance including such items as maximum enrollment, age range of children which the nursery is authorized to accept, number of children authorized for attendance at one time, and any other limitations required to insure the safety and welfare of children. The licensee can now open his nursery.

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[4] State of California Human Relations Agency - material request of applicant, Los Angeles 352b, Rev. 8/65.

Supervision-Consultation

Once a license is issued, the relationship of the licensee and the Department enters a second phase. The licensing division must now supervise the facility and, since a license is only good for one year, must issue a yearly renewal to each qualified applicant.

At one time all renewals were issued as an outcome of a visit by the licensing representative to the facility, and a personal letter was written to accompany the renewal. Recently, in order to save staff time, a plan was devised to permit yearly renewal by mail. Three months before the license is due, a form letter is sent to the licensee along with an application blank and a questionnaire asking for information about the program, enrollment, health check-ups for staff, etc. If no deviations are noted, the following form letter with the license enclosed is mailed out under the signature of the licensing representative.

> Dear ,
>
> Your application for renewal is approved. Please refer to the enclosed license for the specific terms involved.
>
> Should you later want to make any changes in the terms as now listed, please discuss them with us while they are in the planning stage, as it will be necessary that you apply for another license. Also, note information to send to this Department during the year and records to keep in your day nursery.
>
> Your license must be posted in the nursery school in a prominent place.
>
> Sincerely,

In the past when all renewals were handled personally, a former supervisor of licensing had a plan for quarterly visits. As she explained it, this was a way to promote a positive view of licensing and solved a great many problems before they arose. It gave the worker and director a chance to get acquainted under circumstances more flexible than those where the policing function is paramount. As she explained:

> I'm sold completely on the quarterly call or the semi-annual visit. Then when it's time for the renewal you have been working with the people all along instead of confronting them the last minute with conditions they can't meet. This makes for a positive relationship and then when the time comes for re-licensing you can write a positive letter.

Supervisory visits are currently on an unscheduled drop-in basis. These have the advantage of permitting the worker to see how the program is conducted on an ordinary day, and also saves the time of making appointments and keeping to a strict schedule. The drop-in visit is usually brief and does not guarantee any time for discussion, since the director may be engaged with children or may not be on the premises 5/. As the following comment indicates, these drop-in visits are not popular with nursery directors.

> I have had some wonderful representatives who worked with me over the years (mentioned some names and made some effusive comments), but the one I have now, and I won't mention her name . . . I told her that I don't like unannounced visits -- that I wouldn't think of dropping in on my best friend unannounced . . . that we preferred no visitors on Mondays and Fridays . . . She said she had to go to meetings on Wednesdays. . . I said, "Fine. Come on Tuesday." So she came on Friday . . . Fortunately, I was able to call in someone to serve as assistant director so I could be free to talk to her.

Time is allotted for one visit a year to each facility. Since recognition is given to the fact that some facilities may need more frequent attention, a priority system for visits has been established as follows:

1. Facilities about which there are real concerns
    a. Newly licensed facilities, especially those about which there has been a complaint or a pattern of violations;
    b. Facilities where there is a new director.
2. Facilities: which operate at a marginal level, in which there have been minor violations, in which there is a lack of skill but wish to improve, in which there is a lack of interest, or about which information is lacking.
3. Facilities considered stable, adequate.

It is our understanding that those nursery schools in priority three are very seldom visited. This system of selected visitation has produced mixed feelings among its clientele. Directors who receive visits have come to realize that they are viewed with uncertainty by the Department, and

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[5] Prior to the change in procedure, the worker would make an appointment for at least the yearly renewal visit, which ensured time to talk with the director. Many directors are resentful of the drop-in visit and have little opportunity to talk with the worker under less pressured conditions.

clearly perceive the policing role of the Department. Among those who no longer receive visits, most feel justified in the Department's judgment of competence, although some also express a certain contempt at the lack of contact.

Complaints

At one time the Department kept a logbook of complaints. This procedure is no longer followed, so that information about the frequency of types of complaints is not available. Complaints, however, do have priority for staff attention within the Department. Complaints most often come from licensees who are vigilant in their lookout for unlicensed facilities or unscrupulous competitors. Employees and parents also are sources of complaints about care or financial arrangements. According to a staff member:

> Well, we've always had informers by the dozen. First of all there are the other operators of nurseries who will call us and say, "You know the friend of mine down the street always has a specific number of people when your licensing worker calls, but most of the time she doesn't operate with that staff." So the worker will drop in and find out, sure enough, this was true.
>
> Disgruntled employees also call -- both those who have left a place and those who are still working there -- like a teacher who would say, "Please don't tell her I told you, but the food is really skimpy". Or the cook who would call and say, "I don't want to lose my job, but children are getting spanked here".
>
> Also complaints come from mothers, usually out of a concern about abuse. The child would come home with a bruise and the teacher would say that the child had fallen. The child would tell the mother that the teacher hit him.

Another type of complaint is that against the licensing worker. More recently, since day care has been increasingly publicized as a lucrative small business 6/, complaints against the licensing division have arrived through the offices of a legislator. Usually the applicant has found that he cannot comply with regulations and will not receive a license, at which time he complains to an elected official that "The Welfare Department is interfering with his right to earn a livelihood". As in most state agencies, these

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[6] See, for example, Judith Van Schaack, Day Nurseries for Preschoolers (San Francisco: Bank of America NT & SA, 1969).

complaints have top priority 7/.

Non-Renewal of Applications

The day nursery licensing division seldom fails to grant a renewal, except when there is a rare refusal by the fire department to issue a fire clearance. If a renewal is not granted the licensee can request a departmental hearing and ultimately seek court action. Department personnel do not like to take a case to court, not only because it is time-consuming, but also because of the conviction that their chances of winning a case are slim. Unlike license issuance, when the burden of proof rests with the applicant, in the case of non-renewal, the burden of the proof is on the licensing department 8/.

Who Are the Applicants? Review of a One-Year Sample

Our Department of Social Welfare consultant compiled statistics on characteristics of applicants as obtained from case folders and interview records. Much of the information which we hoped to report could not be obtained. In part this inability was due to the methods of reporting used by the Department. Records were far from uniform among intake workers, so that certain information, important to us, was recorded only sporadically. The strict control which the Department maintains on confidentiality of records also presented problems for us. Furthermore, at the time of this study both the Department in general, and the licensing division in particular, were feeling pressures from the new state political regime, community groups, and sheer overwork.

Types of Legal Responsibility

A first attempt to examine 300 case records ended unsatisfactorily. We did obtain a sample of 108 applicants who received new licenses or had licensing changes during the year 1967. Of the 108 applicants, seven percent filed as non-religious, non-profit (most were parent-cooperative nurseries). Thirty-five percent filed as religious (of these all but one were Protestant). Within these categories the division between part- and full-day

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[7] Such complaints can be very time-consuming for an organization already understaffed. Furthermore, the facts which are needed to answer the complaint are confidential and cannot be divulged.

[8] For further discussion see Norris Class, (1968b) p. 48, 54-55.

programs was approximately 50 - 50. The remaining fifty-seven percent were proprietary. With three exceptions, proprietary nurseries planned to offer a full-day program.

Applicants must also specify a form of legal responsibility. There are a number of options for this declaration. Some options are open only to non-profit organizations while others are restricted to proprietary centers. The number of married couples who file is high. Although both husband and wife do not always participate actively, joint participation is common 9/.

TABLE 2

APPLICANTS APPLYING FOR A LICENSE DURING 1968: BY SPONSORSHIP

Legal Responsibility	Type of Facility		
(N=108)	Non-Profit (N=8)	Religious (N=38)	Proprietary (N=62)
Single signature	0.0%	0.0%	24.2%
Family signature (usually husband and wife)	0.0	0.0	54.8
Corporation	0.0	7.9	4.8
Non-profit papers	12.5	0.0	0.0
Partnership	0.0	0.0	14.5
Board of directors	75.0	44.7	1.6
Proxy (minister, etc.)	12.5	47.4	0.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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[9] In our experience, this type of facility is often uniquely successful in providing clear adult role models for young children. However, at a recent meeting of day care leaders, one commented that these centers were as outdated as the "Mom and Pop" grocery store and would go under with the new day care legislation.

Geographic Distribution

An examination of the geographic distribution of the nurseries for which these applicants were licensed revealed that only three of the total 108 were located in the area with 25 percent or more minority population. (See Table 3.) In these same minority areas, Children's Centers personnel have reported 12,000 on the waiting list. With few exceptions, the Department of Social Welfare-licensed nurseries and day care centers do not serve areas with large percentages of Spanish surname or Negro residents.

TABLE 3

LOCATION OF APPLICANT'S PRESCHOOL FACILITIES
IN AREAS WITH MINORITY* POPULATION

Percent of Minority Population (N=108)	Sponsorship Non-Profit (N=8)	Religious (N=38)	Proprietary (N=62)
0 - 25%	37.5%	84.2%	75.8%
26 - 75%	12.5	2.6	6.4
More than 75%	0.0	0.0	1.6
Not known	50.0	13.2	16.1
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*The areas described are from Background for Planning (Meeker, 1963). Minority includes Negro, other races, and Spanish surnames.

Only twenty-five percent of the facilities were described as occupying buildings specifically built as nursery schools. The majority occupy converted residences, commercial buildings, or church Sunday school rooms. In a previous study we found a negative relationship between use of converted space and complexity of play equipment, amount-to-do per child and overall organization. Although these settings sometimes have unique advantages, apparently such space is harder to develop for good program. Also contributing to this relationship is the relative lack of training characteristic of directors who supervise such programs. (Prescott, 1967)

All of the religious school applicants will employ a director. Only twenty-seven percent of proprietary applicants state this intention 10/. Probably as a result of this personal involvement, forty-three percent of the proprietary applications are completed within a three-month period. Only twenty-four percent of the religious applicants completed application within this time limit.

We had hoped to get information about motives of applicants and some documentation of common problems. This information was not recorded systematically, so that for approximately seventy percent of the cases no problems were mentioned. Applicant's motivation for applying was missing in one-half the records.

Because of the requirement that any change in location, ownership, or number of children requires a new application, only about one-third of the total work output of the licensing department produces an increase in the amount of group care available in the community. In 1968, for example, the department completed the licensing procedure with 102 applicants, but of these, only 38 were establishing a new facility. The remaining 64 were taking over facilities already known to the department. This figure reflects the rather frequent turnover of ownership of facilities. Furthermore, these 38 applicants emerged from an original pool of 83 applicants who filed with intent to establish a new facility, but did not carry the application to completion. These figures are representative of overall department experience, at least for the past four years.

Size of Day Nursery

Of the 27 day nurseries which closed during 1968, 59 percent were licensed for fewer than thirty children, while only 7 percent were licensed for sixty or more children. Conversely, among the 78 nurseries which were added to the licensing roll during 1968, 36 percent were licensed for thirty or under and 14 percent for sixty or more. Twelve percent of the changes in licensing during 1968 were changes in the licensed capacity of the nursery. Virtually all of these were increases in capacity. Many directors whom we have interviewed over the years have reported that they started with a lower capacity, but found that the most effective way to increase income was through increasing the licensed capacity of the nursery.

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[10] Directors for part-day programs are relatively easy to find among the pool of married women who like half-day employment. Experienced directors for full-day programs are in very short supply. Therefore, full-day programs which must hire a director are apt to become problems to the licensing department.

These figures are indicative of the economics of child care. Large centers are more profitable to operate than small centers, and as land and building costs continue to escalate they reinforce this trend. In 1951, 78 percent of all proprietary centers served thirty or fewer children and only 2 percent enrolled more than sixty children. Today the percentage of small centers has dropped to 38 percent while the number of large centers has risen to 15 percent.

Who Loves a Licensing Representative?
The Licensed View the Licensing Division

> One doesn't have to be devoted to the education or welfare of young children in order to get a license. One has to be persistent.
>
> A licensee

The licensing process may be viewed from the perspective of the licensing division - or from the perspective of those seeking licenses. To gain information about the licensing experience as viewed by those who had been recently licensed, our consultant drew a sample of twenty-nine nurseries from the fifty-five licensed during a twelve-month period, July 1968 to July 1969, so that each licensing worker would be represented. The interviews were conducted by telephone. Eighteen interviews were completed, seven refused to give a telephone interview or were unavailable when contacted. Of the remainder, two nurseries could not be located, and two directors had moved away. We asked about preliminary steps and the time which they took, about problems encountered, and about their judgment of the helpfulness of the licensing staff. (See Appendix A1 for interview schedule.)

Beginnings

We immediately discovered that our sample of licensees was not necessarity new to the field. Nearly fifty percent of those interviewed had been previously licensed by the department and were establishing a new school or requesting an increase in enrollment. Many of them expressed their feelings of exasperation at the necessity of repeating the licensing procedure.

> Well, I think that it's really asinine that to enlarge a school you have to go through the same procedure that you have to do to start a new school. Everything -- menus, budgeting and everything -- even though I had been in operation for fourteen years. I know of another woman who has had a school for twenty-five years and in changing the location of the school, she had to go through the same thing all over again as if she were a new applicant. That seems ridiculous and is time consuming and I don't think that should be when a school has been in operation.

Many were vague about the circumstances of their initial contact with the department. Apparently, familiarity with department requirements comes in three ways: knowledge from previous employment in licensed facilities, referral to the department by persons involved in the purchase of a nursery, or referral from other governmental agencies such as the fire department or zoning department.

Why Did They Establish?

Although their memory for the details of initial contacts with the licensing department was poor, licensees had no trouble in describing the circumstances which led them to establish a nursery. Apparently, most people who establish nurseries combine personal reasons with a realization that they could earn a living. For example, some sought care for their own children and found that the type of school which they wanted did not exist.

> Well, actually, my husband became interested because our two children were with a baby sitter and she just wasn't living up to what we wanted her to do and the children were becoming unmanageable. We found out she was asking them if they wanted to do everything, you know. They were never told anything. Not even, "This is your breakfast, eat!" We started looking for a nursery school in which to put the children. My husband called about ten places and they were all full. Well, he's a kind of "wheeler-dealer" type and it struck him as an amazing investment. If there was such a great demand, he should get in on it, so he started looking for a school. He went down and asked the State Department of Social Welfare if they knew of any schools for sale.

In many cases the licensee had teaching experience, as in these three examples:

> I was a teacher and I was very, very interested, I had to put my child into a nursery school which was less than satisfactory. I was unable to find one in my area that was satisfactory and I felt that I would like to deal on this level. I have the professional background and I had the money for capitalization.

> Gee whiz! -- I used to teach in the Child Care Center of the Board of Education. In other words, I was planning on being a teacher, but fell in love with the small children.

> I was a teacher in a primary school and I complained a great deal about what was happening and how things were being done. The more I complained, the more my husband became interested and involved in trying to do it better.

Perennial Problems

Many applicants find the section on finances and budget tedious and difficult, but by far the biggest problem was related to difficulties which stem from the necessity of obtaining clearance from so many departments before a license can be obtained. The feeling expressed below is common:

> They need more inter-departmental communication in terms of rules and regulations. You think you have really satisfied someone and then the next department comes along and throws you for a loop.

Another described her feelings:

> Well, it seemed that there was some type of unspoken battle going on between the Department of Social Welfare and the fire department. The Department of Social Welfare had their rules and the fire department would say, "Well, these are our rules". That was one thing that I found rather annoying. I had to deal with the Department of Social Welfare -- that was one thing to be involved with and then a whole separate thing was the department of health. I don't know what the solution is.

If the building is not in a commercial zone, there are zoning problems. As re-zoning becomes more difficult, fewer people make the attempt. Even if an initial variance is granted, it can be made conditional and temporary.

> We had a lot of trouble. It had nothing to do with the zoning commission, however. It had to do with the neighborhood. But we did everything we could to make them happy. We are up for re-zoning. We have an application for variance. It cost us $300 and was given us for a year. There's a residential-apartment lot next to me and an apartment house on the other side. We had already been cleared for a variance. I'm really curious why we should have to pay another $300 to go through the whole thing all over again.

From year to year, many directors experience discontinuities in their yearly contacts with inspectors from fire, health, building and safety departments. The director whose experience is described below has had a highly respected proprietary school for the past decade.

> About a year ago when the fire inspector was out, he required that we post a sign in each room stating the maximum number of children that is allowed in each room by the law. The signs have to be metal and they had to be put up on the wall -- which is fine -- and we took care of that. This gentleman returned and decided

that these signs were not the correct signs and he took them all down. He went and measured each room again, and he changed them -- after being a school for ten years, he changed one room which is licensed for 20, to 25 -- he upped it. Another which is licensed for 17, to 18. (Don't ask me why--I don't think he measured very right.) And another building which is licensed for 17, he said I could have only three children in one room, and the other room I could have eight children, which is a total of 11. So there is 11, and 18, and 25, which gives me my license for the usual 54 children. Next year someone else will pop in and change the whole thing back again.

Or the health department will come in and say "Why, you can't have 25 children sleeping in here. You're only licensed for 20." It is these kinds of inconsistencies, lack of communication between the departments that creates problems and really creates feelings of hostility, as far as the owners are concerned, toward the department. They feel that these people really don't know what they're talking about or what they are looking for. There is no one code for nursery schools in terms of fire laws, health laws, and safety laws and I think that it is important that there be a code that would inter-relate the different areas and make it clear to owners of schools just what is expected by the different licensing agencies. I think once this is done, it would cut down on the number of visits that would have to be made by the different agencies. The inconsistencies lead some people to let things go -- maybe no one will come out for six months or maybe someone else will come out, so you just don't know and it also leaves you with a feeling of anxiety. You are always uptight when somebody comes in to inspect because you don't know what their peculiar, particular idiosyncrasy is going to be. Some health department inspector was just there -- this happens to be the same inspector who was there before -- he looked around, looked at nothing really. He asked a couple of questions, "Are you still doing such-and-such?" (We have to use paper plates in our school because we don't have a double sink.) So I said, "Yes, we are still doing this. Good-bye, we'll see you next year." In the past, another one has come in and looked in every drawer in the refrigerator to see it its temperature was right. There is just such a difference in the department and who they send out. 11/

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[11] It is considered good procedure to rotate inspectors, thus eliminating the possibility of favoritism and improving reliability through pooled observation.

> I have found them relatively easy to work with; they are cooperative. One inspector got very uptight about the fact that there are no doors on the children's bathrooms. When we put up the new building, we made the bathroom with half a wall rather than a full wall, so that the children really have a sense of privacy and yet the teacher can see in. And of course there's no door. This particular inspector from the health department had never been in a nursery school before or had anything to do with licensing nursery schools and he couldn't understand how we got away with this. He was going to call the Social Welfare because he couldn't understand how there were no doors, and there was no "girls" bathroom and no "boys" bathroom and, of course, we had to give a big long interpretation for him. I think often they are not educated.

In the past, the licensing division has had close working relationships with other departments. Only persistent efforts can keep communication open because of staff turnover in all agencies. This type of community coordination also is time-consuming and does not have priority within an understaffed division which is legally required to issue licenses and renewals and morally responsible to investigate complaints.

Coping Strategies

Since it is common to encounter some difficulties, we looked for the various ways in which our sample of directors had coped with their problems. Apparently, those who expected the procedure to be fairly smooth experienced the greatest sense of discomfort and frustration at the delays and series of inspections. Those whose expectations were lower took these difficulties in stride.

Some licensees adopted an easy-going stance. "I think you mostly have to have patience. You have to wait." Others experienced the procedure as much more ulcerous,

> I'd say with all their damn red tape, it took a good six months --what with buying a building from a nincompoop and all the dumb things they wanted.

Still others took more direct action to get the outcomes which they wanted. The approach was usually a variation on the following strategy.

> You just have to be extremely, and underline that, persistent and always get to the source -- not the inspector, for example, who comes out. I always ask, "Well, who is your boss?" Never take no for an answer. Don't do business by phone. Go down there.

Among our sample, appeals were numerous -- and often successful. Almost everyone appeared to have a lawyer on call for purposes of advising or facilitating. If the applicant could not solve the problem, the lawyer was there to help.

Attitude Toward the Licensing Department

In answer to the question, "Did you find the State Department of Social Welfare staff helpful?" answers were almost equally divided into the three categories exemplified by the following answers:

1. We were really very lucky. They were very helpful.

2. I wouldn't exactly say helpful. They weren't exactly helpful, but they weren't unhelpful. They were just sort of nothing.

3. Well, I didn't find them helpful at all.

Apparently perception of helpfulness depended partly on the congruence of philosophy and of degree of sophistication between the licensing worker and her client. Where values were shared and the worker was perceived as competent by the client, the contact was described as helpful. For example,

> Everyone was for us. It was a marvelous experience. It has been all the way through. Our social worker just knocked herself out for us.

However, where philosophy differed -- especially in cases where the applicant presented a plan for a highly structured formal program -- the worker was perceived as less helpful.

> I think the woman with whom we deal really tries to be helpful. I really think she does, but she has some rather antiquated ideas and besides which, I think, she has a real prejudice against teachers. The word teach absolutely turns her completely off. I try to say things in a different way.

Applicants who saw themselves as more sophisticated and knowledgeable than the licensing workers, experienced the procedure as exasperating.

> Oh, I walked into the State Department of Social Welfare with complete plans, ideas for curriculum -- detailed ideas on the whole thing. This was backward, because then I had to suffer through their ridiculous group meeting. I was appalled at their absolute ignorance. Oh, I can see how someone who had absolutely no background might find it helpful.

> I feel that generally speaking the attitude on the part of the city officials, all the way down the line, was one of bored servitude. If you weren't educated they may have been helpful.

As previously indicated, when an applicant applies for a license the burden of proof of qualification rest on him, not on the Department. Our sample of applicants varied widely in their perception of the overall helpfulness of the Department. Undoubtedly, licensing workers were aware of differences in client attitudes. Some applicants, by their manner, must have evoked helpfulness, while others obviously tried the patience of the worker. The aspect of licensing which produces universal complaints stems from the difficulties in dealing with multiple departmental jurisdictions (namely, social welfare, fire, health, building and safety). Virtually everyone expressed a desire for simplification of this aspect.

Public Relations

The licensing division does not have the resources to cultivate its relationship with the community. Funds are not available for staff time to solicit radio announcements and newspaper stories publicizing licensing services or to see that licensing information accompanies day nursery advertising 12/. Even more handicapping are the limitations on staff time which keep staff members from capitalizing on the opportunities offered by the job itself. Present guidelines which determine the use of staff time do not allow for attendance at community meetings, or even for licensing-related functions which have public relations value such as personal checking of references. Consequently, much of the Department's contacts with the community are defensive, occurring only after problems have arisen.

In the past when staff time was not quite so limited and the long-time supervisor placed high priority on community contacts, much was accomplished. Department of Social Welfare staff regularly attended community meetings, were active in nursery education workshops, and spoke at college classes. The following excerpt from a letter by the president of Pre-School Association to the supervisor of licensing indicates the effectiveness of this approach.

> Please accept my thanks and those of the Pre-School Association for your contribution to the success of our Workshop. From the

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[12] During the war, much placement of children was going underground because of zoning. The licensing supervisor worked out arrangements with the major newspapers to see that no ad was placed for a day care center unless its license had been verified.

evaluation reports you did a brilliant piece of public relations for the department; also, you left them wanting more, as they felt your time was far too short.

People often have strong feelings about child care licensing. There are religious groups who consider that church and state are constitutionally separate and, therefore, feel the state should not have jurisdiction over their activities. To many, Department of Social Welfare means work with the poor; they believe that the Department should license only for children of the poor, who are judged to be constitutionally incapable of supervising their children or making choices about their care.

Operators of commercial nurseries often point out that they offer services for children of parents who are working and paying for the cost of care. "How we take care of their children should be between them and us. It is their business, not yours. They can speak for themselves." While many of the commercial licensees recognize that they have chosen a special type of business in caring for children, others feel that business is business and that the government should not interfere with free enterprise.

Recent Attacks

The licensing division has always received criticism from people who resent regulation of small business and who view anything even remotely connected with "welfare" as anathema. Recently two groups have organized to oppose licensing procedures. The Nationwide Business Association (NBA) has formed a committee to organize nursery, preschools, and day camps and issued the following appeal:

> Owners:
>
> Since most vacation and school registrations are over, we can buckle down once again to our pressing problems----- . . .
>
> (A) Having to apply for a license every year, comments: All schools represented agreed that we are providing a prof.essional service, not only to the children enrolled, but to the community we serve.
>
> Too long have we gone without our proper recognition as pros. Doctors, lawers, state and county teachers and most other porfessionals have only to renew their license every 3to 5 years and in some cases they are issued for a life time, by paying a fee. Why should we have to seffer the humiliation and harassment of sociàà workers every year and in many cases @-3 times or more?

We are going to set up a sub-committee to take an in depth look at this problem and report their findings at a later meeting.

(B) Standards of conduct of social workers in your place ofbusness: Most workers and gov. agencys seem to have the idea that they can intrude on you and your employees at anytime. They also offer in most cases non-constructive ideas, that usually mean more expense, longer hours, and longer work days for the owner.

Out of all schools represented at our meeting not one had a decent word for the gov. agencys we come in contact with, yet these agencys are supposed to be of help, but instead -----?

We propose to write a code ofethics which should apply to all gov. agencys we have to deal with, after all we do have our rights, and we will stand up for them, but we must stand together. (In unity there is strength)

(C) Communication between gov. agencys and small business, or the lack of it..?

At our meeting we found that 95% of us had very little useful contact for the differant federally funded, state funded and privately funded programs that might apply to our schools, somehow we hear little or nothing about them... Why?.
We are licensed by the state, but federal gov. plays an important part in financing these programs. These programs could serve to improve our business and may be used for expansion perposes.
That why!!!

Note: Have you ever goten the feeling that the prime reason for the control is to keep you from making more money???

(D) Sq footage per child requirements (indoor & out). This is one of the more important factors, because of all others that may be discussed, money space etc. this ruling handicaps all. Question: How many of us have had to build, remodle etc. to accomadateo (x) amount of children, then only to find we don"t have enough space;..so you get licensed for less children.

Question; Who makes the rules, regualtions etc. that we abibe by /? [13]

Another group, American Institute of Child Care Centers, Inc. has worked to organize owners and has proposed that they establish their own governing board. One of their appeals stated:

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[13] The spelling and punctuation has been left uncorrected.

> If..............................
> You beleive that YOU should run your own business,
> You are harassed by Department Personnel,
> You are working for less than fair profit,
> You beleive in Free Enterprsie,
> You want some changes NOW,
> This meeting is for you. [14]

Apparently, neither group has received widespread support and both are viewed with displeasure by many day nursery owners. Nevertheless, they have approached the licensing department at many levels. Their tactics have been hostile and time-consuming, as the following encounter, reported by one of the officials at a group meeting, indicates:

> I called Mrs. S. (day nursery supervisor) and Mr. R. (State Department of Social Welfare official) to ask them to send another social work representative, because I did not get along well with Mrs. X. One day after that, she slipped in the door while I was talking on the phone. One of the teachers told me she was there; so I hung up and rushed outside, but she already had two teachers pinned down, questioning them . . . She wanted to know what we were having for lunch. I was late cooking lunch, because of talking on the phone and to her. I told her, "peas, potatoes and hamburger", but I never did get the peas served . . . I told her "I don't like you. I don't want you here. So why don't you leave?"

A licensing unit has public relations problems which are similar in some ways to those of a police department. Unless the public clearly understands the benefits to be derived from a regulatory (and hence restrictive) service -- the authority will be experienced as arbitrary and hostile.

The community's view of licensing is also complicated by the variations in licensing jurisdictions and inspecting departments. People often confuse requirements of the State Department of Social Welfare licensing division with policies of other programs not under their supervision; for example, the licensing division will be blamed for the fee structure in Board of Education Children's Centers or the condition of physical facilities in a Head Start program. The recent proliferation of programs for young children has increased the possibilities for misunderstanding the relationship of the licensing unit to the community.

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[14] The spelling and punctuation has been left uncorrected.

CHAPTER II

THE LICENSING FUNCTION: AN OLD FROG IN AN UNPOPULAR PUDDLE

The licensing function represents a community solution to problems which can arise when traditional ties of family love and responsibility are not present to protect dependent members of society. In California the sick, the elderly, and children cared for outside of their own home are protected by licensing. The first licensing law for the protection of children was passed in 1913, authorizing the State Board of Charities and Corrections to license and, thereby, to establish standards for all institutions receiving and caring for children in the absence of their parents, whether or not they were receiving public funds. The original law provided the basic statute which still sanctions licensing of children's institutions.

In 1913 eighteen day nurseries were licensed. By 1969, the state licensing division listed 1,928 nurseries under its jurisdiction with a capacity for 73,524 children.

Licensing was one of the earliest functions of the Department of Social Welfare. It has grown with the Department, becoming more sophisticated and differentiated as ways of thinking about children have changed. Over the years, the development of licensing has been determined by decisions on jurisdiction -- who shall be licensed, and on standards -- what will be the minimum requirements.

The licensing division, in turn, has been shaped by the internal environment of the State Department of Social Welfare and the external environment of the community. Department policy has determined how responsibility would be distributed, what programs would have priority, who could be hired, how their time could be spent, and how decisions were to be made. The community, composed of pressure groups which limit or push the Department, has been an important factor in determining how questions of jurisdiction and standards would be developed and resolved.

Jurisdiction: Who Is to be Licensed?

Why did California, unlike most other states, draw day nurseries into the jurisdiction of licensing as early as 1913? One of our informants explained:

> It was those dear darling public health nurses who did the spade work. They were responsible. The original law simply said that children's institutions were to be licensed and they made the interpretation that day nurseries were to be included as children's institutions. It was a staff decision and made more work for them, but they thought it was important so they did it.
>
> As I see it, the law was being stretched by these public health nurses to keep children off the street. They tended to see everything in terms of public health, and they interpreted physical safety as part of a health measure. 1/

The inclusion of day nurseries among the first children's institutions to be licensed was primarily a staff decision, stemming out of commitment and conviction. The freedom to make such a decision however, was granted by the wording of the law.

At present the jurisdiction of the day nursery unit of the State Department of Social Welfare extends to all group programs for children over two years of age and under the minimum age for admission to public schools, and also includes programs giving after-school care to children up to age sixteen, with these exceptions:

Programs sponsored by other government agencies:

1. Children's Centers, Preschool Compensatory Education Programs and Head Start when combined with Compensatory Education, administered and operated by California Public School Districts.
2. One-half day Head Start Programs under private auspices in Los Angeles County receiving any state funds. 2/
3. Group programs for preschool children directly administered by a local department of parks and recreation.
4. Facilities located on federal property. 3/

Programs licensed by other administrative units:

5. Day care facilities for the physically handicapped, which are licensed by the State Department of Public Health.
6. Day care centers for mentally handicapped and emotionally disturbed children, which are licensed by the State Department of Mental Hygiene.

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[1] Until the 1930's, licensing staff consisted primarily of public health nurses.

[2] The background of this exemption is discussed on p. 39.

[3] Day nurseries are operated on military establishments and Indian reservations apparently without supervision of any child welfare organization.

7. Foster family day care homes, which care for one to ten children under 16 (including own children in the total number) in a private family residence. Licensing of such homes has been delegated by the State Department of Social Welfare (in Los Angeles county, to the County Charities Department).
8. Facilities offering twenty-four-hour care, which are licensed by another section of the State Department of Social Welfare.

Programs currently unlicensed:

9. Recreational or character-building programs for school-age children.
10. Private elementary schools whose primary program is education.
11. Facilities for the care of children whose parents remain on the premises (as in Sunday school nurseries, women's clubs, bowling alleys).
12. Summer camps inspected by Department of Public Health.
13. Nursery schools operated by a college or university.

An examination of the exclusions which have just been described helps to clarify the nature of the licensing law in California. The original statute made no exclusions, except for programs operated by other governmental agencies. The original statute was generic and designated for inclusion "any place for the reception and care of children under 16 years of age". An alternative to this type of law is one in which each type of child care is specifically designated for coverage and all facilities not mentioned are automatically excluded.

A statute which is all-inclusive is both liberal and ambiguous. As various forms of child care come to public attention, either through their increase in number or through concern for children's protection, they can be licensed without legislative action. However, whether it is possible to license will depend on the ability of the licensing division to extend its resources to include another type of facility. It soon became apparent that the Department could not license every type of facility which might be licensed. In order to clarify which responsibilities were to remain within the Department, questions were referred to the Attorney General

In the early days, as indicated, Department staff tended to extend their jurisdiction to any facility not specifically excluded. Over time the scope of jurisdiction has been sharpened either by opinions of the Attorney General, which sometimes resulted in a transfer of responsibility to another department, or by legislative amendment.

The Education Versus Care Controversy

One long-standing controversy has concerned the distinction between care and protection, which is a Department of Social Welfare responsibility, and education, which is not. When a new facility for young children, the nursery school, began to appear during the late 1920's, the question inevitably arose: Should this new facility fall within the jurisdiction of licensing?

The Department of Social Welfare's Biennial Report for 1927 and 1928 gives the following information regarding nursery schools in California:

> In the past few years a considerable number of nursery schools have been established partly as an outgrowth of newer theories of education and partly to give day care to preschool children from families with higher standards and larger incomes than those that send their children to day nurseries. Some of these schools have morning sessions only, but others give full day care with meals and sleeping periods. Some of these schools give no more educational work than is given in a well-organized day nursery, others follow the lines of experimental play schools developed in Europe and eastern centers, while still others differ only slightly from the kindergarten. The children come from families assumed to be above average in intelligence, with sufficient resources to exercise their choice in the selection of happy and healthful conditions for their children. For these reasons, from the viewpoint of both social work and education, these nursery schools were given an unrestricted opportunity to develop their field, their techniques and their standards. 4/

At the 1929 session of the legislature a bill was introduced that would have extended the supervision of the Department to the nursery schools. This bill was withdrawn, pending further study with a view to introducing more definite legislation at a later session. The issue was dropped and the Department did not license these experimental schools at that time. The problem returned in a new form at the beginning of World War II when the number of facilities calling themselves "nursery schools" and offering full day care mushroomed. When the Department approached the directors on the basis that they were operating commercial child care programs, they declared that their facilities were schools and not day nurseries and therefore did not need a license. Because of their similarity to the new classification of commercial nurseries, the matter was taken to the Attorney General for an opinion. The Attorney General ruled that the Department had no jurisdiction over institutions primarily operated for educational purposes.

The complexity of problems arising out of the Attorney General's opinion was rampant. Staff could not differentiate between a nursery

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[4] California State Department of Social Welfare, Biennial Report, 1927-1928.

school and a day nursery as these were currently operating. The name of the facility could not be used as a basis since applicants with totally untrained staff and a full day program used the name "nursery school". The hours of operation could not be used exclusively, since the Attorney General had ruled that this Department had no jurisdiction over institutions primarily operated as schools for educational purposes. Did the employment of a trained teacher in itself indicate that the educational program was adequate and the primary aim of the facility? If so, what was a trained teacher? Many of the better day nurseries which did not claim to be schools employed trained and certified teachers. What about the daily program? Surely no facility could be primarily educational in character from 6:30 in the morning until 6:30 at night.

In May 1943 the Social Welfare Board attempted to clarify the situation by ruling that "Nursery schools providing full day care to children of working mothers but who have at least one accredited teacher on the staff will not fall under the jurisdiction of this Department" 5/. Again questions were rampant, and the decision appeared to increase rather than to decrease the Department's problems. Memos flew back and forth again between the district offices and administration.

> We find some facilities, commercial and philanthropic, have accredited teachers but do not consider themselves or want to be as schools. . . Key people in the communities are not referring any day care projects to this department if they hire a teacher regardless of her training and regardless of the purpose of the program. . . A nursery to be operated by the Greyhound Bus Co. was not referred to this department for a license because they intend to employ a teacher. . . It appears that most of the new day care projects are calling themselves nursery schools.

The struggle continued to rage, and the very limited number of licensing staff continued to try to evaluate each facility individually to determine whether or not each one was or was not under the Department's licensing jurisdiction. Finally, in November 1945 the State Board of Social Welfare made

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[5] According to a former director of the licensing division this decision was made by the Board without consultation from the Chief of the Child Welfare Division. The Board then asked the State Department of Education if they would take over licensing of educational institutions. The Department was agreeable, but had no funds or staff. Apparently for both Departments (Social Welfare and Education) the basic issue was operating budget.

a new ruling which was followed by a statement of the Department.

> Private facilities for children under four years and six months of age, the age at which children may be admitted to kindergarten, fall within the licensing jurisdiction of this department. Such facilities may call themselves day nurseries, nursery schools, play schools, etc., and include the facility which offers primarily custodial care, and the facility which offers primarily educational experience, and any combination of the two. In view of the fact that nursery school education of the child under four and one-half years of age is not recognized as a part of the educational program in this state, this department is assumed to have licensing responsibility. 6/

The matter of the Department jurisdiction was at last settled and the licensing representatives no longer needed to spend stormy hours attempting to evaluate whether or not each facility was under Department jurisdiction. This decision was a milestone in the establishment of licensing jurisdiction, for it brought nearly all private group programs for young children (where the mother is not present) under the same licensing umbrella 7/. As a result directors of parent cooperatives, church nurseries, and proprietary centers came to share a common concern about the licensing function.

The matter was not settled emotionally for every one, and even today some private nursery school owners consider that their facilities should not have to go through a licensing process conducted by social workers. They hold fast to the concept that no other discipline can become sufficiently rooted in education to merit the responsibility for the licensing of their establishments 8/.

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[6] Department of Social Welfare, mimeographed statement sent to all staff and to the community; November 1945.

[7] The few exceptions have been listed on pp. 34-35.

[8] In July, 1948, a suit was filed by the Sunflower Play School, conducted by a Mrs. Helen Soteckle with a complaint for injunction to prevent the State Department of Social Welfare from enforcing Section 1620 and requiring a license for the operation of the school. The complaint alleged that the Department's distinction between day nursery and schools was invalid. The constitutionality of the law was upheld in a decision of the Alameda County Superior Court on January 14, 1949, which also upheld the Department's criteria for differentiating between day nurseries and schools. An appeal was filed in the District Court of Appeals, which confirmed the jurisdiction of the Department over nursery schools for children under the age of admittance to public schools.

The advent of Head Start in 1965 again raised the issue of educational programs and licensing jurisdiction. Some Head Start programs were located within the public school system and were, therefore, obviously exempt. Others, however, were funded through private agencies and housed in private facilities. According to current practice these would fall within day nursery licensing jurisdiction.

During most of 1965 the day nursery program in southern California was without a supervisor and remaining staff were sorely pressed to maintain the workload, let alone provide aggressive leadership for licensing new programs. Head Start personnel went about their task of organizing programs with great enthusiasm, and sought to by-pass licensing requirements. Since large numbers of Head Start programs were located in churches, lodge halls, and store fronts, there were bound to be difficulties with standards for physical facilities.

Head Start leadership won their point, and one-half day programs under private Head Start auspices are not currently licensed in Los Angeles county. Technically, this exception was granted because of an administrative arrangement between the Los Angeles County Office of Economic Opportunity and the State Compensatory Education program which allocated a certain percentage of compensatory education money to all Head Start Agencies in the county. In return these Head Start Agencies could increase their enrollment, including children of welfare recipients eligible for these state funds. Use of state funds made it possible to designate these centers as being under Department of Education supervision.

Outside of Los Angeles county in areas where this funding arrangement does not exist Head Start programs are licensed by State Department of Social Welfare. In addition, any Head Start program which offers full day care is not exempt from State Department of Social Welfare licensing.

The failure of the day nursery licensing division to maintain control of jurisdiction in this situation resulted in loss of its potential leadership among an important segment offering services to young children. Also, the Department of Social Welfare lost face with the directors of proprietary centers who pointed out that the Department (by default) was permitting young children to be housed in settings which were woefully substandard.

Another jurisdictional issue involves the definition of child care in the absence of parents. In recent years there have been difficulties concerning the definition of recreation as distinct from child care. Summer camps presented such a problem. Here again, licensing jurisdiction was determined by legislative willingness to provide funds. For a short time in the early 50's camps were licensed. This responsibility presented the licensing workers with inseparable problems.

> In the first place they were only open for a three-month season and they were scattered all over the mountains in the most inaccessible places. We couldn't even get a list to locate them all, let alone identify their needs and develop standards. It was a mess!

Camps were officially removed from Social Welfare jurisdiction in 1961 and are now inspected by State Department of Public Health.

A similar problem concerns facilities, existing for many years, which have cared for school age children after, and sometimes before, school. These are children whose parents are working and, therefore, need a multi-facet program. The state has recently taken the position that this service is child care rather than recreation, and at the current time, the licensing division is attempting to locate and work with the many facilities which, heretofore, have not been considered to be under its jurisdiction.

Standards: Mini or Maxi?

Clarification of jurisdictional issues usually is followed by attempts to develop standards which are appropriate to the facility to be licensed. Within day nursery licensing, for example, standards for cooperative and non-profit nurseries have administrative specifications not applicable to other types of care. Standards are the administrative rules and regulations which must be met before a license is issued. (Class, 1968b, p. 21)

The word "standards" has had two meanings in licensing. Originally it referred to a minimum beneath which no one could go. Gradually, the word came to refer to goals as used in the Child Welfare League Standards 9/. In California, the standards for day nurseries have aimed to clarify both minimums and maximums; both have been stated in the licensing brochure.

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[9] Child Welfare League of America, Inc., Standards for Day Care Service (New York: Child Welfare League of America, Inc., 1960).

Developing Licensing Standards -- 1918-1950

At the end of World War I, consideration was given for the first time to specific standards for day nurseries. The number of day nurseries increased markedly during the war. As part of the Department report in 1918, the following description was given of the types of care being offered:

> Day nurseries in California may be classified into three groups:
> 1. The day nursery conducted by some boards of education, providing care for children of preschool age so that their older brothers and sisters will not be kept at home to care for them 10/.
> 2. The day nursery under private auspices for children of working mothers.
> 3. The seasonal day nursery maintained by factory and cannery management for the children of women in their employ. 11/

Since the State Board of Health, together with local health departments, had experience in making inspections, it was natural that the State Board of Charities and Corrections would turn to them for help and guidance in the formulation of licensing standards and that these standards would consist primarily of items on sanitation and health care. This emphasis had good justification since infants made up the majority of those accepted for care 12/. In the revised standards of 1920 there was an indication that the State Board recognized the inadequacy of nursery programs designed for infants and consideration was given to some of the developmental needs of "runabouts".

The early standards addressed themselves to emphases which have been characteristic concerns of the traditional charitable day nursery. The first was that small children are happier and develop more normally when they are cared for in their own homes by their own mothers. The preamble to the first

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[10] Then, as now, the licensing jurisdiction does not extend to programs administered by other government bodies, such as Board of Education Children's Centers. This policy also means that certain programs for young children, such as those offered on Army posts, are essentially unregulated.

[11] California State Department of Social Welfare, Biennial Report, 1918.

[12] A major difference between these early forms of day nurseries and those today was in the variety of services -- not only the care of infants, but provision of clothing, food, and even care of sick or lying-in mothers.

Day Nursery Standards and their revisions stated:

> The nursery should always inquire carefully into the case of every child seeking admittance to determine whether there may not be some other solution to the family problem. If this is not possible, nursing mothers should be urged and encouraged to nurse their babies as long as their children gain. Nursing mothers should be urged to come to the nursery at appointed times. A hot drink and a low chair would be a helpful provision. 13/

The second emphasis referred to the many social and relationship problems among families using day nurseries. In the Standards of 1918 and 1920 poor sanitation in the home was pinpointed with the following regulation:

> The health problem of the day nursery is paramount. The average day nursery child comes from a home where various causes contribute to a low standard of sanitation and hygiene. The age of children involved also makes them more susceptible to contagious and infectious troubles. Considering this health menace, the home of the children admitted shall be inspected before a child is accepted. 13/

The revised standards for 1925 did add requirements for other activities and services in addition to health services, although they continued to require a nurse as director.

The desirability of group care for infants was increasingly questioned. In the 1930's the Department became convinced that infant care should be discontinued. Because Catholic day nurseries traditionally had offered most of this care, the supervisor of licensing sought the assistance of the Chief of Child Welfare, who was herself a Catholic and did a great deal of interpretation within Catholic circles. This leadership strategy built sufficient support to enable the Department to rule against all group care for infants.

An informant who established one of the first half-day nursery schools in Los Angeles described the licensing department as she perceived its functioning in the late 1920's:

> The licensing department knew nothing of children; all they were concerned about were toilets and floor space, but they knew nothing about child care.

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[13] California State Department of Social Welfare, Biennial Report, 1918, 1920.

> One reason the nursery association was started was to try and help the licensing department learn something about what was important in good care for children.

The nursery school movement, which developed momentum on university campuses and through WPA-funded centers, focused attention on the educational aspects of early child care. As these currents reached the licensing department in the late 1930's much study and thought was given to the revision of standards.

The Exigencies of War

A comprehensive statement of standards was issued in 1941. A few weeks later Pearl Harbor was bombed, and these standards were never to be used effectively. They had been designed for use with non-profit nurseries and could not be adapted to profit nurseries, which were suddenly springing up at an alarming rate. Consequently, in October of 1942, the State Department of Social Welfare issued another set of standards directed to "commerical enterprises established by individuals with the expectation of making a profit", thereby creating two sets of standards for licensing.

The 1942 standards, which were rapidly put together, omitted the requirements for a social worker on the staff, for visits to the children's homes, for counseling service to the parents. Many of the items previously listed as "musts" were changed to "shoulds".

During the war the licensing staff was never sufficient to carry out its functions. District assignments were large and travel to outlying counties was difficult. Staff were constantly having to leave trains to make way for military personnel or were running out of rationed gas. When they arrived at their destination they often could find no place to stay. The increase in new applications was staggering, and pressures for early decisions and also for constant surveys and reports to administrators made it even harder. Perhaps the most difficult role for the individual staff members was the making of licensing decisions rapidly and always with the thought in mind that children who could not get into nurseries might be facing misery and tragedy. Was it better to have a place to go that might offer a minimum quality of care rather than to have no place to go?

When staff members got together there was always the refrain -- "When the war is over we can relax and look around us and pick up some of the pieces. We can work more closely with the nurseries we are worried about, and can take some time to bring ourselves up-to-date on current practices in good schools." It was also assumed that when the war ended fathers in service would return, working mothers would leave their jobs, and preschool children would be kept home all day to love and be loved by their parents.

A Magnum Opus -- the '53 Standards

> In writing the 1953 standards, they really did the pioneering for the nation -- there was no other state which had standards that were carried out like this.
>
> Selma Zorin

Mother did not stay home after the war, and there was no doubt that licensing standards and practices urgently needed revision. By 1949 there were four sets of standards: (1) for the large benevolent nurseries, (2) for the day care of infants during the war period only, (3) a quick guide for commercial nurseries, and (4) a quick guide issued during the jurisdictional struggle over nursery schools.

In response to a question concerning the timing of the decision to revise the standards, the supervisor at the time responded with great emphasis, "Oh, they always needed to be revised" and explained that all during the war it was clear in her mind that the time to revise standards would come. Her approach was as follows:

> One of the ways you get things done is you do not wait for a crisis to act. You must have the community support, and one of the ways you get it is to have an ongoing meaningful committee that can help you set your sights and move toward it. Before you can hope to accomplish anything you have to have enough interest, public and private, to be able to move.

To undertake the task of revision, a state-wide committee was formed consisting of twenty-seven members. In addition, five subcommittees were named -- organization and administration, buildings and equipment, health protection, admissions policies and procedures, and program. Altogether, ninety-five persons throughout the state participated in these committees 14/. Every discipline and type of nursery school was represented. The breakdown was as follows:

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[14] The licensing law in California does not require community participation, but this has been common practice.

Representatives from proprietary, cooperative,non-profit, and religious schools	31
Nursery school associations	17
Department of Education (state and local)	10
Department of Social Welfare (state and local)	8
Regulatory agencies (state and local) -- Departments of Fire, Health, Building and Safety, Planning	13
Community associations with concerns for children	8
Architect	1
Pediatrician	1
College faculty (social work, education)	6
TOTAL	95

According to a participant on the state-wide committee,

> We tried to get together everybody who would be concerned with the standards, and particularly we sought out the fire department and building and safety departments.

A great deal of learning took place at these meetings. The sharing of this common task was an exceedingly effective way of teaching the intricacies of government regulations. A Department employee commented:

> The people who participated on these committees were not used to the workshop methods -- also were not used to the legal structure within which standards had to be developed. They would say, "Why can't the city Health Department change their city ordinance?" They simply didn't understand that you have to go through so many layers to get anything established.

Progress at these meetings was slow. The staff wanted all ideas to come out for discussion, and this took time.

> Everyone enjoyed meeting each other and there was a great deal of discussion and arguing back and forth, but people really did enjoy each other. There wasn't anything that the committees didn't squabble over.
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> The sub-committees would write up recommendations and then would send them to Sacramento where the Department staff would write them up in the form of standards and then send them back. Many timesthe committee members were horrified and they would say, "That's not what we meant, that's not what we said". It took a long time for them to understand that standards had to take a

> very different kind of form and the people in Sacramento were thinking in terms of what would be possible to get through the Board.

One of the hardest tasks was to separate the "musts" from the "shalls". The use of the word "must" made a standard mandatory, but a "shall" only indicated that it would be desirable.

> In order to make any standard a "must", this couldn't be done unless it could be carried out in every county of the state. For example, members of the committee very much wanted to have trained people but they simply weren't available. We went around and talked to Senators from all of the counties, and they were willing to go along with this idea but kept pointing out, "We don't have those kinds of people, we don't have that training". I realized that much as I would have liked this standard it just wasn't possible at this time.

The committee members came to know and like each other. They also developed a commitment to their work. According to a Department member:

> People worked so hard to get the standards to communicate the ideas that they had, and when standards finally came out and they saw them, it seemed too cold to have them broken down and numbered.

The 1953 standards defined the minimum requirements. These were the "musts", but the committee members went much farther. They also carefully spelled out optimum provisions and their rationale, so that anyone reading the manual would clearly see that mere compliance with requirements omitted a number of desirable alternatives.

The committees tried to move away from the strictly physical aspects of care to more emphasis on emotional development, play opportunities, and good administrative practices. Instead of abandoning those ideas which could not be established as standards, they included them as interpretive material.

The various committees wanted educated staff, a low ratio of children to adults, and generous amounts of indoor and outdoor space per child. Everyone on the committees came to understand why each of these desires could not be obtained -- everyone had to compromise. One participant summed it up:

> What I thought as an individual was so often different from what needed to be or could be carried out. You have to settle for far

less than what you want. Then maybe you can go back and get something which is closer to what you really wanted -- you always have to judge what the community's ready for.

The people who participated in writing the 1953 standards began as individuals with personal opinions on particular subjects and emerged from the experience as a knowledgeable leadership cadre. In working together they had come to understand the necessities which stood behind their differences in outlook.

The '53 standards served as a basis for licensing from that time to the present with very few additions. These included requirements for tuberculosis tests for day nursery staffs, fingerprint clearances for owners and individuals responsible for the daily direction of the programs, and non-discrimination in accepting children in any facilities licensed by the Department. These additions did not meet with significant resistance in Los Angeles county where resources necessary for compliance could be provided.

In 1962 the form of the standards was rearranged, with all of the regulations printed on green sheets and with amplifications and recommendations on white sheets 15/. These did not, however, include all of the interpretive material from the standards for 1953. As part of a state push for administrative efficiency, in 1967 this manual was removed from circulation and the regulations were issued as part of a volume containing other social welfare codes 16/. All interpretive material and written recommendations were eliminated. The regulations are now reduced to sixteen pages of formal code. It is this document which is currently in use and is sold to people who wish to start day nurseries. For those who had worked so hard on the 1953 standards, this change represented a real blow to the push for quality which had characterized the licensing division in the postwar period.

Summary: What Forms Do Standards Take?

In the regulation of day care attention can be directed toward four dimensions: the physical facility, the people offering the care, the administrative framework, and the kinds of people who are permitted to use the services.

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[15] Issued as Manual of Policies and Procedures for Day Nurseries in California (Sacramento: State Department of Social Welfare, 1962).

[16] "California Administrative Code" (Sacramento: Title 22, Social Security, Division 2, Department of Social Welfare, Subdivision 4).

Most licensing procedures direct some attention to each of these areas.

Physical Facilities
- number of square feet per child, indoors and outdoors
- amount of window space
- number of toilets, drinking fountains
- restrictions on use of basements or multiple story buildings
- amount, type, and placement of equipment, including play equipment
- technical requirements to guarantee fire, health, and building and safety standards
- specifications for plumbing, wiring, building construction

People Providing Care
- absence of criminal background
- amount of education and special training
- previous experience
- references
- ability to complete a licensing application
- age
- temperament

Administrative Framework
- maintenance of a daily schedule for food, rest, outdoor play
- specifications of numbers and roles of adults required
- proof of adequate finances
- maintenance of specified records
- provision for a Board of Directors (if program is sponsored by an organization)

Clientele
- restriction of total number of children
- limitations on age of children to be served
- exclusions of children on basis of health, special needs, or characteristics of parents

Variations in Regulatory Practices

For the purposes of gaining more perspective on the particular solutions which California has evolved to questions of jurisdiction and standards, we wrote to twenty state licensing units, selected by a judgment sample, asking about their statutes, standards, and administrative practices. (See Appendix B1 for questionnaire.) 17/ We have found considerable variation in

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[17] A summary of state standards and practices in regard to staffing and the physical environment can be obtained from The Day Care Research Project, Pacific Oaks College, Pasadena, California.

the emphases which exist. The most obvious differences in jurisdiction appeared to be related to the inclusiveness of jurisdiction and the specificity of licensing responsibilities. Some states exclude certain types of group care, such as programs under religious sponsorship, or half-day educational nurseries under any type of sponsorship. There are also differences in administrative jurisdiction which determine the degree of specialization of workers licensing day nurseries. In some states the same worker may license foster family day care, twenty-four hour care, and homes for the aged as well as day nurseries.

There are also vast differences in standards. Some states have few specific standards. The most common, aside from fire safety, relate to square feet of space per child and numbers of children to adults. In states such as California these standards are enforced; in other states, standards apparently function more as recommendations. In states which permit group care of infants and toddlers, standards tend to focus on sanitation and safety.

The factor which is most predictive of the degree of differentiation of standards and jurisdictions apparently is the total number of licensed facilities within a given area. In southern California there are so many facilities of all types that specialization is feasible, and with specialization more attention is paid to the need for specific standards.

In California the inclusion of educationally-oriented nursery schools within the licensing jurisdiction has undoubtedly brought cross-fertilization of ideas. Over the years as part of their supervisory responsibilities, licensing representatives have become personally acquainted with both the program and the leadership in these nurseries. In the process they have come to see nursery school emphases on sensory experience and opportunities for activity in a rich environment as desirable components in all group programs for young children, including those which define their primary role as care and protection.

CHAPTER III

INSIDE THE PUDDLE: THE LICENSING DIVISION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

> It has not quite found its place yet in the public mind and in state policy. This is partially its own fault because of its unwarranted timidity in making its work known to the public, and partially the fault of professional politicians who regard charity workers as bothersome meddlers.
>
> Arthur J. Pillsbury 1/

Licensing of services to children and to the aged was one of the first responsibilities of the Department of Social Welfare. Over the years other services it once provided, such as supervision of correctional institutions, have been transferred to other departments of the state government, but licensing has always been located within the Welfare Department. The Department's licensing functions do not receive a federal subsidy and thus constitute a sizeable chunk of that portion of the yearly State Department of Social Welfare budget which must come from state appropriations. The rapid yearly increase in the number of licensed facilities has further complicated the problem.

Location within a Department which is viewed with deep reservations by the public is a decided disadvantage to an agency trying to offer a protective service to a rapidly growing population. Welfare is not a popular recipient of public funds. Consequently throughout most of its history the licensing division has been chronically lacking in the resources needed to carry out legislative mandates. As we began to review the history of licensing within the Department, at first it appeared as an incomprehensible sequence of administrative shifts and disordered details. Finally we grasped the thread -- it was MONEY. When there was more, licensing moved ahead; when there was less, it retrenched, patching and shifting as best it could.

We then tried to determine the conditions which regulated the resources available to the licensing function. Our search led us to the relationship between licensing and other child welfare services. A basic problem of child welfare is to provide care for children who are temporarily or permanently stranded without an adequately functioning family. The solutions usually involve home finding, such as adoption and foster care placement; or less

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[1] Arthur J. Pillsbury quoted in Phadke (1961).

permanent child care, including both twenty-four hour care in institutions and boarding homes, and day care in foster homes and nurseries. Licensing can regulate both home finding and child care.

As early as the late 1850's the newly formed State of California appropriated funds for partial payment for individual children in institutions. Whenever public funds are expended, there is a need for accountability to guarantee that the funds are wisely used to promote the purposes for which they were appropriated. To satisfy this requirement, California legislators created two boards: The Board of Asylum Commissioners, which was to be responsible for investigating financial conditions in institutions; and the State Board of Health and Vital Statistics, to advise with regard to health, food, sanitation, and general administration of orphan asylums and all charitable hospitals receiving state aid. In its reports, the Board of Health pointed out alarming conditions in some of the asylums. For example, nearly all of the 82 children in one asylum and 156 in another died during one year of inspection.

The push for licensing grew out of the reports of these inspections. Because there was no centralized state organization to coordinate the work of the other boards and to concern itself about other than health and financial matters, the State Board of Charities and Corrections, consisting of six volunteers appointed by the governor and a paid secretary and clerk, was created in 1903. From these modest beginnings the present large and complex State Department of Social Welfare emerged. The Board members and the secretary visited every state institution and county hospitals, almshouses, and jails at least once during each year and made regular reports to the governor every two years. In 1911 their duties were increased to include supervision of home-finding societies. Two years later provision was made for the licensing of homes for the reception and care of children. In its plea for licensing of child placement agencies and child care facilities, the Board issued many reports describing the waste of public funds, the abuse and neglect of children, the fact that there were too many children in institutions who did not belong there -- and also the fact that there were too many institutuions, many more than in most states.

California, unlike some other states, did not establish a widespread system of public workhouses or orphanages for its large numbers of dependent children, choosing instead to use voluntary facilities. This practice was due in part to the growing conviction that public institutions were not an efficient or desirable solution. In addition, there were a number of already established agencies, many of them under the auspices of Catholic religious orders in a tradition which had its roots in California mission days. Very early in its history the state established the practice of paying voluntary organizations engaged in home finding for temporary care of dependent children.

These agencies viewed home finding as their major role, with care as incidental. California's first licensing statute in 1911 regulated home-finding agencies, but did not regulate the facilities in which children were housed while waiting (often indefinitely) for placement.

The priorities established in the first statutes, in which concern for home finding preceded attention to the quality of interim care which children were receiving, can be seen in much of the history of licensing jurisdictions and standards. Types of care have come to the attention of the Department at various times, most often because this type of care was being used for children supported by state funds, but also because increasing numbers of children, including many who might need public support if the facility were unavailable, were being placed in the facility under question.

Wars, for example, produce an increase in maternal employment which, in turn, results in establishment of day nurseries. At such times women with children work and many continue working to support their children after the war ends. Consequently, after both World Wars I and II, much attention was paid to the increasing number of day nurseries. Attention costs money, and the continuing controversies about jurisdiction invariably have involved the question of paying for the cost of licensing. For example, if the problem of separating education from care and protection were not so insoluble (and the leadership so determined), educational nurseries probably would have been excluded from licensing supervision.

Often money was not available to supervise facilities which the law stated must be licensed. For example, during the 1930's licensing became submerged by the federal relief programs into which all efforts were channeled. Funds for licensing were cut sharply and the division was forced to made do with limited staff 2/. Finally in the late 30's, when federal funds became available for child welfare services, extra staff was added and neglected licensing was revised.

The depression years with their heavy influx of federal funds and attention to relief programs produced a permanent change in the orientation of the State Department of Social Welfare. Its major function shifted to the supervision

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[2] As an economy measure in 1932, all investigatory services were brought together under the Division of Permits -- these included licensing of institutions for children and aged and adoptions. Apparently adoptions received most of the attention and children's institutions were investigated only when complaints were submitted.

of disbursement of federal funds to local agencies, and many positions within the Department were justified by this function. Thus, the introduction of federal funds has always had an impact on Department policy. Services underwritten by federal funds -- or required in order to receive them -- are provided. Those services not supported by federal subsidy are the Department's step-children. One of our informants recalled this period:

> No one had looked at children's institutions for ten years. This could not be considered as negligence; there simply was no money for staff to do inspections. There was one worker who had an office and took care of everything by telephone, but this did not include visiting.
>
> My first inspection visit was a home for boys and it was a disaster! The home had been very badly mismanaged and I was new and hadn't the vaguest idea of how to go about doing an inspection visit, except that I was young and concerned. (I was so green that I didn't know a boy's urinal -- thoughtit was a foot bath. Afterwards, I used that case as an example of how not to carry out a study.)

Licensing of foster homes became an increasingly insistent problem as institutional care was dropped in favor of placement in homes. Here again the problem was to obtain adequate supervision with limited funds, by using any and all resources. In 1925 among other legislative changes 3/ provision was made to delegate responsibility for boarding homes to local agencies. This provision actually legitimated an already existing administrative practice. The depression forced the State Department to rely even more on the counties. In 1932 the City of Los Angeles discontinued licensing of boarding homes. To fill this gap, the state supervisors persuaded three private organizations involved in child placing to take over the responsibility.

Prior to World War II, as state staff increased, the state licensing unit gave consultation and helped local agencies set standards for boarding homes. A participant in this consultation explained:

> When we came in as consultants we became more exacting. The local agency people began to say, "This is just too much work -- we can't carry this, we're going to have to dump it." Finally, they took

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[3] During this same year, the Department was reorganized and renamed. As part of the general reorganization the licensing statute was modified to incorporate home finding and care in the same statute.

> their problems to county officials who helped them push for payment of state money to the county for their licensing. (The state now pays $65 to the county for each boarding home which is licensed.)
>
> The licensing division had tried without success to get legislation to permit payment to counties, but when pressure built up locally it was finally obtained. It was always the cost -- money was always the core of the whole thing!

In the 1960's when the preschool poverty programs were launched, the question of accountability again arose. Although the licensing unit had by far the most experience with such programs, it did not have the available budget to take on the cost of licensing additional facilities -- nor did it have the leadership to promote its interests. The responsibility of working with these facilities was given to the State Department of Social Work staff assigned to the aid-to-families and dependent child division, who were to share supervision with the State Department of Education division of compensatory education.

Staffing a Licensing Unit

> In appraising the relative qualifications of candidates, consideration will be given to the extent of pertinent education above that absolutely required and experience of a nature that has resulted in the candidate's possessing those attributes usually gained from the preferred education.
>
> Jargon from California State
> Personnel Board Specification Paper [4]

Who Can Be a Licensing Representative?

Staff positionsin government agencies are traditionally established through the method of job classification which attempts to sort positions according to complexity of tasks, degree of responsibility, or required preparation for job performance -- i.e., all jobs rated as similar on these three dimensions are classified on the same grade levels. Within this system a particular position is viewed as a combination of duties and tasks which should

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[4] California State Personnel Board specification paper: Social Service Consultant II, January 1963.

2.

not involve personalities and skills, and no consideration is given to individual differences in knowledge, skill, or interest in a particular program.

On the professional level in the State Department of Social Welfare there are two basic classifications: Social Welfare Consultant, Grades I, II, and III and Social Welfare Administrator, Grades I, II, and III [5]. Appointments to these positions are made from lists which have been compiled as the result of civil service examinations. These examinations are given for the various grade levels on the assumption that an individual on such a list would be qualified and available for positions in more than one program. When personnel cuts are made or vacancies occur in various programs, staff are moved about within their own level if necessary. Personnel are also encouraged to take promotional examinations for higher position levels. By establishing a rational procedure for moving people from one position to another, this system provides control and flexibility to the Department and employment security to its employees.

The position of licensing worker is one of many assignments possible to examinees who successfully qualify as Social Service Consultant II. According to the job specificatiom sheet, a Social Service Consultant II either: [6]

> (1) performs difficult assignments related to the State's administration of public welfare, such as the analysis of public welfare problems and their impact on administration, the development of program content and the recommendation of welfare policies, and the application of policy to the solution of broad welfare programs; or
>
> (2) licenses and promotes and maintains standards of operation and service in agencies and institutions subject to license by the Department. [7]

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[5] In the late 30's the Department received funds from the federal government to strengthen its child welfare staff. One of the conditions for continued receipt of these funds was the establishment of a merit system of employment.

[6] The educational requirements specify either a Master of Social Work degree plus one year's experience, or a college degree and one year of experience in the Department as a Social Service Consultant I.

[7] California State Personnel Board Examination Paper: Social Service Consultant II.

The job classification system creates difficulties in staffing a professional program such as day nursery licensing. Although the underlying function may be comparable, the programs to be analyzed or evaluated vary widely. Included within this position classification are day nursery licensing, aid to needy children, adoptions, aid to totally disabled, aid to needy blind, old age security, medical care, etc. As a result of this inclusiveness, the licensing unit finds itself with many employees who have neither knowledge of nor commitment to young children. The supervisor of licensing also finds herself saddled with people who do not care for the licensing function, who do not like the authority component and the hostility to which a licensing worker is always subject.

Because licensing is a specialized service and its functions are not included in the curriculum of a Master of Social Work degree program, virtually no one coming into the job is equipped by previous experience to handle it. The individual will have had some course work in human growth and development and some contact with the field of social work; however, specific orientation to licensing rests with the licensing staff. Here again, the problem becomes circular; in all probability the supervisors who must orient have been shifted into licensing from some other program and may soon be shifted out again. Resources are not available for formal in-service training; consequently, orientation is often haphazard and superficial.

All of these problems are further complicated by the rapid turnover within the Department. Many people accept this position only until another opening becomes available and then transfer out. It is now rare for an individual member of the staff to remain in the program long enough to hold it together and to serve as a constant force in its development. These staffing practices produce comments from licensees such as the following:

> My present social worker, who happens to be a very personable gentleman, has his degree in administration and had no experience whatever with nursery schools. But when Governor Reagan made the cutback on personnel in the Department it was necessary to transfer to other positions so people who have no background in nursery education, or in education at all, or even in real social work end up in licensing. He's a man with a degree in administration who is sent out to license schools.
>
> Now it just so happens that he was particularly interested; he's the father of a preschooler and he made it his business to learn. I think there is a degree of resentment on his part that he is not in the field that he would prefer to be in, and even though he happens to be a very conscientious person, still I think that people should be suited to their jobs. I don't think the Department of Social Welfare has the opportunity to put people in

> licensing who are qualified, particularly, at this time with the "freeze". These are some of the problems related to government agencies that private owners, and I guess anyone who is concerned with this field, have to deal with. I wish it could be better.

The licensing division has seldom been able to attract the staff which was needed, although in the past difficulties were not so formidable and strong leadership overcame some of the current difficulties. The rejection of public service by many trained social workers and the unwillingness of the Personnel Department to set high standards have been long-standing problems. A former supervisor describes how she perceived them.

> Trained people went to private agencies. To work in the State Department of Social Welfare was to piôneer pure and simple. They simply wouldn't come. They looked down their noses at us. (Actually we had more flexibility working within the legal structure, than they did in their private structure.) Eventually, we did get them. Many of them evidently came out from the East and if they couldn't get a job, we hired them.
>
> I began to write the job specifications and I kept writing that people should have a Master of Social Work degree. The Personnel Department kept pulling it out. The Personnel Department kept insisting that the community was not ready for the MSW requirements, and that you have to allow for comparable experience. Well, it was a question as to what was comparable experience. I once had someone apply who had a master's degree in Chinese philosophy. I couldn't quite see that that was comparable! Part of the examination required an oral exam before a board and from my point of view this was the very best way to screen people. If you had someone who might have scored very high on the written exam, but who demonstrated that they did not have the personal characteristics for the job, you could rate them low on the oral. This would still keep them on the list but, in all probability, they would not be hired.

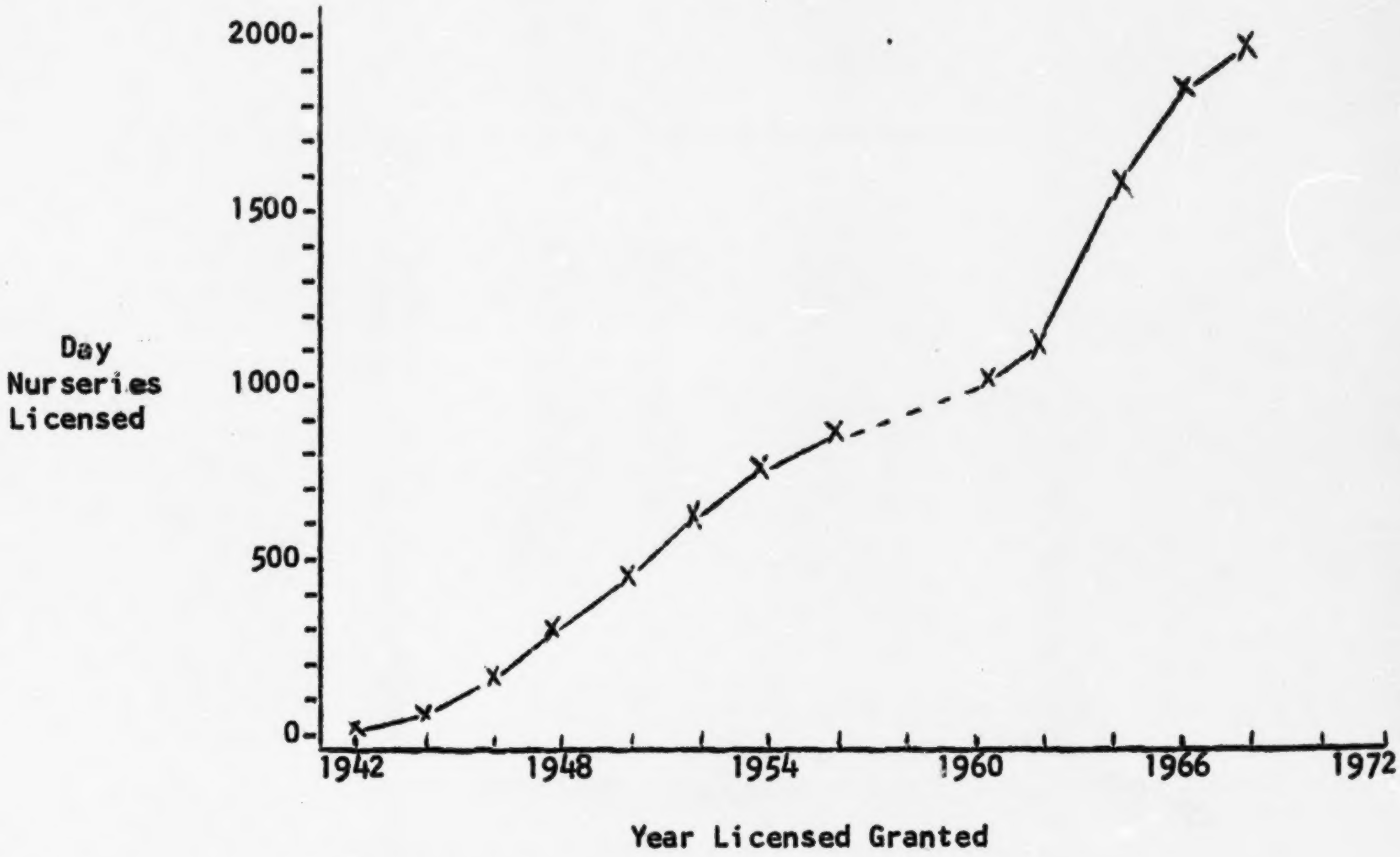
Shortage of Staff

Some of the staffing problems of the licensing unit stem directly from the job classification system. Others arise out of another common practice in bureaucratic systems - the time and motion study which determines how many man hours are needed to carry out the tasks involved. In 1955, a caseload yardstick was established by examining the components of the licensing job - the number of visits needed to study new applications, to make renewal licensing studies, to carry out supervisory responsibilities and, in addition, the amount of time to be consumed in visits and in the preparation of licensing records. The yardstick was based on time-motion studies of practice at that time, and it was determined that one licensing representative should be expected to carry a caseload of approximately fifty-five day nurseries. At that time, these caseload "yardsticks" provided for a fairly reasonable amount of time to do a satisfactory licensing job. However, increases in community demands and complaints, along with increasing recognition of needs for services not included in the original job statement have changed with responsibilities of workers, and at present the caseload yardstick is believed to be too high. Actually, the system itself is not unworkable, although it does limit the flexibility of staff to meet changing needs. The real problem arises when the staff hours guaranteed by the yardstick are not delivered by the administrative system.

The licensing division has been plagued by problems with staffing. Since the number of facilities to be licensed has risen steadily each year, there has been an unremitting increase in caseload. (See Figure 1.)

FIGURE 1

INCREASE IN DAY NURSERIES - STATEWIDE*



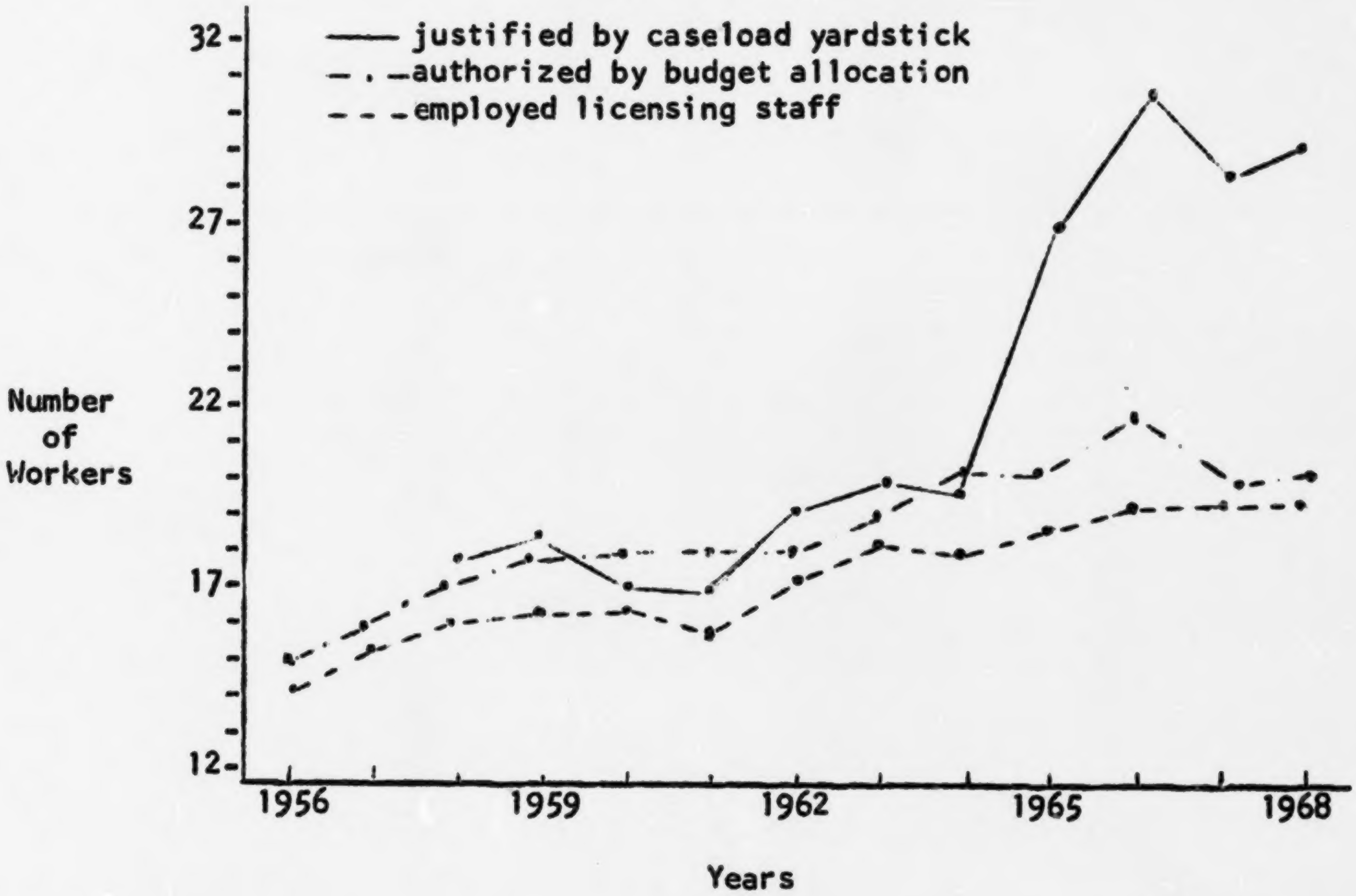
*Statistics from State Department of Social Welfare Biennial Reports

The number of staff members has not increased proportionately, even according to the 1955 yardstick. Depending upon the climate surrounding the Department's budget, the number of staff has fluctuated yearly, since there is always a lag between number of positions justified by the yardstick and the number of positions actually authorized by budget allocations. With the high turnover of staff, there is also a lag between the positions authorized and positions filled. When this gap is added to the time needed for orientation of new staff, the effect on work output is considerable.

A current state drive for economies has resulted in recent staff reductions, and the outlook for increases in staff is not hopeful. Figure 2 demonstrates the vast discrepancy between positions justified and positions filled.

FIGURE 2

DISCREPANCY BETWEEN POSITIONS JUSTIFIED, AUTHORIZED, AND FILLED*



*Taken from Department of Social Welfare figures.

Professional Role Behavior: The Exercise of Judgment

Even with determination, licensing representatives cannot perform the job only by the rule book. The most perfunctory performance requires considerable judgment because there is always the borderline case and the ambiguous standard. Moreover, licensing staff have deliberately striven to raise quality of care through effective exercise of worker judgment.

A former supervisor spent much time in the community explaining the need for judgment. She would often begin her speeches by saying, "If you want the state staff to be toilet counters . . ." As mentioned, the inclusion of interpretive material in the 1953 standards was an attempt to interpret the context within which decisions would be evaluated. It is this necessity for judgment that makes it so difficult for the licensing division to function effectively when turnover is high, orientation is limited, and staff conference time is scarce.

Leeway. There is always the problem of the borderline case. If, for example, a facility is three square feet short of required indoor space, do you license it for 38 children or do you let it have the 39th? Licensees are very sensitive to decisions on borderline compliance because a good deal of money and even the survival of the facility may hang on them. If the worker cuts a decision too close, or if he is too generous, shrieks of outrage will be heaped on the licensing division.

A related problem is the question of how to get uniformity among workers. One worker may deduct from the square footage for certain furniture or cabinets which another worker will allow. Permanence of staff and open communication can solve many of these problems.

Intangible items. In the following excerpt on admission policies from the standards, most of the items are judgmental.

> Every nursery must establish admission criteria designed to guide in the selection of children who can benefit most from the program and the services it has to offer.
>
> Although its program will determine the specific admission policies established by the nursery, the admission policies of all nurseries must include the following:
>
> 1. Children under two years of age shall not be accepted.
> 2. Each child to be accepted must be determined to be

a. Ready for the type of group experience that the nursery has to offer.
b. Able to benefit from the program offered. 8/

In this section the limiting of the minimum age to two years is the only tangible regulation.

The establishment of criteria for the selection of children who can best benefit from the program and services of the nursery presupposes that careful thought and planning have gone into the proposed program, that the needs of children have been carefully reviewed, and that the daily activities have been geared to these needs. While it is generally recognized that most children of preschool age can benefit from a day-time group experience in which they have the opportunity for social and educational experiences geared to their needs, every child is not automatically ready because of his chronological age. Each child is an individual coming from a unique family situation, with a different history of growth and development, family relationships and experiences with other children and adults, all of which contribute to his readiness to use a nursery constructively.

How does licensing staff deal with the innumerable day nurseries which honestly state that, if a vacancy occurs in their nursery, they accept the first child that comes along unless he appears to have behavior problems that might disrupt the nursery? What is the role of the licensing representative when she visits nursery schools early in the semester and finds young children crying miserably, being very aggressive, or sitting very quietly (thus attracting no attention) and she is told by the director or teacher, "Oh, this is his first day in the school and he is crying for his mother", or, "He is acting silly because he is a show-off!", or, "She is one of the best children we have ever had. She sits very quietly and is no problem. You can certainly tell that she is well brought up."?

Children who are not thriving in the program often lead the worker into the thorny area of discipline. What is a constructive method of discipline for a given child? The standards state:

> Constructive methods must be used for maintaining group control and handling individual behavior.

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[8] "California Administrative Code" (Sacramento: Title 22, Social Security, Division 2, Department of Social Welfare, Subdivision 4, Section 34141, Admission Policies).

> Corporal punishment and other humiliating or frightening techniques are prohibited.
>
> Punishment must not be associated with food, rest, isolation for illness or toilet training.

It may be difficult for a licensing worker on a limited visiting schedule to judge the appropriateness of disciplinary techniques except in cases of flagrant violation of the standards. Discipline used by nursery staff reflects both the values of the nursery and, hopefully, the teacher's knowledge of the individual child. The licensing worker's judgment is necessarily made out of context; it is important that it not be simply an attempt to substitute her personal preferences for those of the nursery. Probably the most constructive role in most cases is consultation - asking questions in an effort to help nursery staff articulate and examine their own practices, without fear of arbitrary sanctions.

How to Get Things Done in a Bureaucratic Department

Some of the constraints which operate in a department organized along the lines of the Department of Social Welfare have been described -- such as the limitations on optimal development of standards and licensing jurisdiction, and limitations on procurement of staff. Another constraint which must be recognized is the political climate within which the licensing unit, as part of the larger Department, must function. When inspection was its primary function, the Board, which was appointed by the governor, made the critical decisions. Among these was the selection of the chief executive of the Department. This practice was discontinued in 1925, and replaced by governor's appointment. The Board, however, still made decisions about changes in Department policy. In 1963, the policy of decision-making by the Board was revoked and given to the head of the Department, leaving the Board in an advisory capacity with responsibility to study issues. Each of these shifts have made the Department more vulnerable to changes in the political regime. Characteristically, each new governor appoints his own department heads, who, in turn, choose their aides. Department staff find these perennial shifts demoralizing.

As indicated throughout these chapters, the State Department of Social Welfare is not held high in the esteem of California voters. Although we have no figures from a polling organization to quote, we feel certain that a high percentage of those interviewed would express negative feelings toward "the welfare department". The very word "welfare" has a variety of meanings which dependably evoke hostility. Because of this hostility, any politician who can effect a cut in Department funds can point with pride, while anyone who significantly increases the budget must be prepared to defend this action.

Several recent examples demonstrate how these pressures can operate. For many years, the licensing staff has pushed for changes in the standards to require some training in nursery school procedures for staff working with young children. After much community discussion this change (among others) was finally enacted by the Department head [9]. Not long afterwards, he resigned. His successor immediately recalled the decision under pressure from certain community groups and later announced his own decision, which kept the modest educational requirement, but raised the minimum ratio of adults to children from 1-10 to 1-12. This decision was experienced as a crushing blow by staff who were already concerned about the necessity of bringing adult-child ratios in line with federal requirements [10].

Another example is a proposed plan to transfer the licensing function from the Department of Social Welfare to the Department of Education. If such a move were effected, the governor could then point to the fact that he had cut the budget of the Social Welfare Department and increased that of the Department of Education.

Effective dealing with constraints of these sorts requires imaginative development of strategies and considerable stamina and personal effectiveness. "There are strategies for getting what you want in the Department. One of the most effective ways is to have been there longer than anyone else and have a dedicated public who will respond to your needs." A former supervisor of licensing who had reached this position described some of the ways in which she accomplished her purposes.

> The really important things never appeared in a memo; these were always done personally. If you want to get anything over, i.e., through official channels, you had better be able to support it factually. (When I was ready to propose something officially) I would write up a report very much as you would write a proposal requesting funds. You collect your data, you present the questions, and hopefully you present a specific recommendation. I encouraged staff to keep their eyes open and bring any problem which they saw to me. Someone would bring up a problem. We would discuss it at

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[9] See Chapter VI "The Leadership Network" for a report of public hearings.

[10] In the "Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements" (September 1968, p. 6), one of the interagency requirements listed is that for children of three to four years, "No more than 15 in a group with an adult and sufficient assistants, supplemented by volunteers, so that the total ratio of children to adults is normally not greater than 5 to 1."

> staff meetings and I would discover that everyone had been having this same problem and each person had been solving it differently. At this point I would get everyone's ideas and then we would reach agreement within the department as to the best way of handling it. Then I would write up a report and send it to the other licensing offices in the state with my recommendations of how our office had agreed to handle it.

The preceding example demonstrates how one can take leadership and initiate action toward the desired direction. The following example illustrates how a supervisor can build friends in the community while, at the same time, promoting the interests of the Department.

> I grew up in the Department. It was a second family to me. I really felt a loyalty to the Department of Social Welfare and when I went out I always tried to be an ambassador. When you go out, people don't think of you as being specialized and working in a particular department, but from you they get their impression of the Department as a whole. I would go to meetings and people would ask me questions about another department and I would answer saying, "That field of work is really too highly specialized for me, is really highly specialized; I wouldn't want to hazard a guess, but I'll get the information for you." So I would go back and start asking around; people got to know how I operated and would say, "Look, I'll try to give you the answer, but just don't have that person calling me".
>
> My boss encouraged me to participate in community meetings as much as I wanted to, although he was often quite firm with other department heads and insisted that they should stay in their offices. I liked to do it, but it was demanding and time-consuming.

It is also possible to cultivate staff and seek commitment by trying to make their work exciting.

> In the early days we developed together and lapped it up (referring to the other leaders in the field with whom she had worked so closely). They were a part of the growth. It was not a routine carrying out of orders passed down. As the Department grew larger, it became harder to get the excitement across and you now had a group of supervisors between you and the workers. When this happened, you couldn't convey to the workers in the field the kind of excitement that you had had. Furthermore, you had to choose from the social service list and this made it hard to get people who were really excited about licensing. By the time you got to the third and fourth group, they were so removed from the source that the commitment became diluted. I would try to make up for this

> through staff meetings and regularly, once a month, I would get people together and ask the workers what their real concerns were, and what was so perfunctory that they didn't think it was important. I tried, in every way I could, to get them to think about what it was that they were doing and what was important and what might be eliminated. As part of a large organization these things are hard to do.

There are other tactics which work, but sometimes have undesirable consequences. For example, after the war a raise in salary was desperately needed in order to procure licensing staff. Supervisors had tried, without success, to get the Personnel Board to upgrade the job classification. Finally, as a strategy, the request was made only for those staff licensing twenty-four hour care of children in institutions. The argument advanced, as a matter of strategy rather than conviction, was that this assignment was more difficult and demanding. The Personnel Board finally agreed to upgrade the job for this category, and, eventually, this opening wedge did lead to reclassification for all licensing staff. During the interim, however, morale, productiveness, and loyalty among staff who were not reclassified fell to an all-time low.

Another tactic commonly used in large organizations is to get transfers for incompetent workers to other positions. In Department of Social Welfare a supervisor of another program confessed that, since licensing staff are not in direct contact with children, the division is viewed as a good place to shunt mediocre workers. This tactic further compounds the difficulties of the licensing unit in securing the staff which the job requires. It also provides an example of the way in which Departmental purposes can be achieved at the expense of some other section of the organization.

Are California's Problems Universal?

Throughout this study we have tried to assess the extent to which experience in California is applicable to other parts of the country. In our questionnaire to other state licensing units we asked what they saw as their most pressing current problems.

The overwhelming need in other states, as in California, is for sufficient staff to handle the rapid increase in facilities. Other states also need money to employ adequate numbers of competent workers and to train them. They report similar needs for interpretation in the community and for time to work with people who are planning and launching new day care facilities.

The following quotations are typical of the statements made about other states' licensing problems:

> We need additional licensing workers. At present we have twenty-four with two state consultants. Budget limitations prevent us from employing others.
>
> The greatest problem is to keep abreast of day care activities which are constantly growing. Insufficient staff to permit supervision of licensed facilities and frequently to permit studies of applications for license on current basis throughout the state. The need for standards for school-aged children and for hourly care of children are two major lacks in the area of standards.
>
> Presently, the most pressing problem is to make a small licensing-consultation staff stretch to meet the demands put upon it. This, of course, is not a problem with the statutes or the requirements themselves.

It is evident that California's problems are not unique. The recent nationwide emphasis on day care and early education programs apparently has placed more demands on many state licensing units than they can manage.

CHAPTER IV

CHILDREN'S CENTERS: LITTLE FROG IN A BIG POPULAR PUDDLE

> Never face facts. Never listen to all those people who say this thing and that thing can't be done. And never give up.
>
> Actress Ruth Gordon [1]

The California Children's Centers program, operated under the supervision of the State Department of Education and administered by city and county school districts, has often been termed unique in the role which the state, through the public school system, has taken in the program:

> There is in this nation no similar program. Nowhere in the nation has the state taken an interest in both control and support for children's centers, and nowhere else in the nation is a children's center program tied so closely to the public schools. [2]

Public education is a large-scale, widely accepted enterprise; within it day care is a small operation whose status is tenuous. California Children's Centers are the only publicly supported program to have been in continuous operation since 1943 [3], when funds provided by the Lanham Act [4] were granted to areas demonstrating need for wartime child care programs. They have endured over more than twenty-five years of crisis, insecurity, and comparative poverty to become permanent proof that, for those deeply committed to a cause in which they believe, the difficult takes a while to achieve, the impossible a little longer.

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[1] Quoted in the Los Angeles Times, December 29, 1969.

[2] Ronald W. Cox, "The Children's Center Program from the Point of View of the California State Department of Education" (Sacramento: mimeo, 1960), p. 1.

[3] The City of New York has retained semi-public centers supervised by the Department of Social Welfare: "Day Care Rules and Regulations" (New York: mimeo, 1968), p. 2.

[4] The Community Facilities Act, commonly known as the Lanham Act, was a piece of federal legislation liberalized in 1943 to authorize the establishment of community child care facilities and services for mothers employed in defense industries.

In the war year of 1942 within the space of a few months in Los Angeles 80,000 women went to work in six aircraft plants alone. As of the present day there are an estimated 365,650 working mothers in the state with children two to six years of age and 25,000 children using the Centers daily 5/. The evolution of the program over this quarter century demonstrates the ways in which an emergent institution has been shaped by the constraints of environmental forces, as well as by the goals of its leadership.

The history of the Children's Centers revolves around three questions:

(1) Why was public support for day care initiated and why has it continued?
(2) Why was responsibility for day care located in the public schools?
(3) What is the administrative structure for public school day care, and how does it work?

Public Support of Day Care: Federal Funding

The federal government first took the initiative in supporting day care during the Great Depression of the 1930's. The WPA Nursery Schools were one of the many national efforts to deal with this economic crisis; their primary purpose was to provide jobs for the unemployed (according to policy, only ten percent of the staff hired could be not on relief).

The crisis of World War II, following hard on the heels of the Depression, rescued federally supported day care from scheduled termination. In the early days of World War II, thousands of women were called upon to take jobs in defense industries. Reports from welfare agencies, departments of education, teachers, child welfare workers, defense councils and other sources pointed

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[5] The unmet need may be twice that figure. Los Angeles alone has 12,000 children on waiting lists and currently has a capacity for 6,000 children in 79 Centers while San Francisco, operating 27 Centers with 1,600 children enrolled, estimates that there is more than that number on the waiting lists at any one time. "Transcript of the Public Hearing."

out disruptive family situations that, without adequate programs for child care, accompanied the mass employment of mothers:

> Many school children are being locked out of homes until the parents return from work in the evening. Very young children are being locked in cars and in homes while the mother is at work. Teachers report the emergency of a group of "door-key children" because they wear the door keys around their necks and must themselves open up the house when they return since both parents are out. 6/

A directive issued by the Director of the War Manpower Commission in July, 1942, instructed the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services to proceed with the development of an "integrated and coordinated day care program in which the schools play a part" 7/.

Plans at the federal level for developing child care programs for mothers employed in war industries eventuated in a proposal for grants-in-aid to be provided by Lanham Act funds to communities which could demonstrate need. Officials at the federal level stipulated that

(1) a properly organized program must be planned in the local community and

(2) the schools must assume a major responsibility for meeting this problem.

On the state level in California, a standing Committee on the Care of Children in Wartime was appointed by the governor from state wide organizations, labor groups, business management, state departments and local agencies to plan and promote programs for children during the emergency. The function of this committee was to co-ordinate and offer professional assistance to local committees as well as to administer federal funds appropriated for emergency programs for care of children. In those geographical areas in which the need was greatest because of a heavy concentration of war industries, committees were formed. In December, 1942, the Child Care Committee of the Los Angeles Defense Council met in three successive emergency sessions to plan strategy and co-ordinate plans to prevent a barrage of similar bills competing in the legislature. Its

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[6] Handbook on Education and the War, Proceedings of the National Institute of Education and the War Department. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 163.

[7] *Ibid.*

proposal to the state legislature advocated:

(1) legislation necessary to enable the State of California to administer state funds and federal monies under the Lanham Act for the education and emergency care of preschool children and children of school age before and after school hours;

(2) permissive emergency legislation for the establishment by school districts of nursery schools, such schools to be established in accordance with regulations to be determined by the State Department of Education. 8/

The crisis united many disparate elements of California communities. Representing a cross-section of voluntary, business, and service organizations, members of the committee held varying motives for securing child care services for working mothers. Among the many groups involved in drawing up proposals were the American Association of University Women, California Parent Teacher Association, League of Women Voters, Chamber of Commerce, California Taxpayers' Association, Junior Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, numerous service clubs, state farm and labor groups, American Legion Posts and Auxiliaries, and women's business and professional organizations.

In January of 1943, a bill authorizing school districts to establish child care centers was presented to the legislature. Debate on the proposed bill was heated. The idea of a publicly supported day care program was anathema to many people, including a number of legislators, on both ideational and economic grounds. Many opposed the plan on the basis of principle, calling it a Communist plot involving government control of children and designed to break down the American family structure. A great deal of argument against the establishment of centers focused on the attitude that woman's place is in the home; proposals for twenty-four hour care were defeated in legislative debate by the allegation that women would be encouraged to abandon their responsibility as wives and mothers to "frequent dance halls at night", or go out and "make some dough for themselves" 9/. These arguments were countered by advocates of the program who pointed out that far from weakening family structure, day care would strengthen it by keeping the children within the family unit rather than sending them to a far-distant place for care or placing them in a foster home. The control of juvenile delinquency was also stressed as an important aspect

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[8] The Los Angeles Defense Council,"Legislative Program Affecting Child Welfare" (Los Angeles: Child Care Committee, mimeo, Dec. 1942).

[9] Los Angeles Times, Jan. 23, 1943.

of the program since the children in child care centers are not roaming the streets unsupervised.

In addition, funding was a prime concern. Although the federal government was to supply operating funds, there was strong opposition to the centers based on the fear that the program might become a permanent bureaucratic structure to further burden already beleaguered taxpayers. The major argument in committee appears to have been over the original proposal to permit school districts to levy an additional district tax on property to be used for child care centers. With the passage of Assembly Bill 307 on January 26, 1943, the opponents of public day care had lost, but the opponents of state funding had largely won. The final bill eliminated the state appropriation of $250,000 originally sought for the inauguration of the program. Eliminated from the measure as well was:

> any hint of authority for levying any tax to support the so called "nurseries". As the program now stands school Boards may furnish the use of buildings, grounds and equipment or contract their use from cities or other public agencies, but no school district, county or state funds can be employed to finance the undertakings. Federal government or other contributions can be accepted, but except for these, charges levied upon parents whose children are cared for, are the only means of obtaining supporting funds. 10/

In other times or other places the legislation authorizing the child care program in California would never have surmounted the opposition it faced, but the crisis of war with its critical need for war workers gave the plan a patriotic rationale which assured its implementation. In addition, the natural appeal inherent in programs for children had its effect on the public. Unlike other marginal programs such as adult education in California (Clark, 1958), a program for the supervision and protection of young children undoubtedly elicited a positive emotional response from many taxpayers and legislators who would have rejected publicly sponsored programs for other age groups.

The Transition to State Funding

With the end of the wartime emergency, the need for day care was officially declared at an end and Lanham Act funding was discontinued in 1946. It was assumed women would return to their homes and reject outside employment. But

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[10] Los Angeles Times, January 26, 1943.

perceptive observers of social trends accurately predicted that jobs in business and industry had become part of the life-style for millions of American women. The accompanying programs for young children had also, in the eyes of many parents and professional people, opened new possibilities for giving children enriched physical, social, emotional, and intellectual experiences.

Faced with the wartime emergency, legislators could accept the need for a day care program. However, they had made it very clear that they did not intend that the state of California finance even a small part of the program and had carefully spelled out its temporary nature. How could anyone hope to overcome such clear-cut opposition?

With the announcement that Lanham Act funds were to be withdrawn, parents using the Centers immediately pressed for action. Children's Centers personnel pitched in and together they began to map strategies to bring pressure to bear on state law-makers for enactment of a bill to provide funds for the Children's Centers on a permanent basis. In the six months stay granted after the initial announced closing date the campaign was mounted.

The tactical strategy utilized a variety of approaches, the first of which was a letter writing campaign. Nursery school educators and members of women's groups concerned with the need for child care, including Business and Professional Women, League of Women Voters, and American Association of University Women, were urged to write letters to their representatives in the state capitol.

Next, legislative chairmen of these groups descended upon Sacramento with the battle cry: Save the Children's Centers! Their arguments were fortified by facts -- statistics on the number of women working, many out of necessity; testimony from mothers who, as sole support of their families, could not manage without facilities to care for their children while they worked. Advocates pointed out that the majority of children in the program were from single-parent homes, and that it allowed the mother to be gainfully employed and not dependent upon public aid for support of herself and her children 11/. Additional

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[11] The arguments of proponents of the program have been incorporated into official policy over the years. The Department of Education pointed out in 1960: "Trends and data both reveal that working women are becoming an increasingly large proportion of the labor force. There should no longer be any question that working mothers are a permanent and essential part of the economy of the state and that their continued work is a necessary contribution to our expanding economic life. In return for this contribution the question may appropriately be asked, "Does the state have an obligation to insure that children of these mothers shall grow into good and responsible citizens, and to free these mothers from worry as to the care and supervision the children will receive when they are at work?"" Cox, "The Children's Center Program", p. 8.

arguments cited the contribution to the economy of the state by the families of children enrolled in the child care program, and the role of the Centers in the prevention of juvenile delinquency. The demonstration that money spent on child care was money saved on welfare rolls was the most potent argument.

The offering of concrete, visual evidence also was impressive. Enterprising directors invited legislators to visit their Centers, to meet with parents and staff and see for themselves the value of the program and the needs it was fulfilling. This strategy appears to have been highly effective in convincing the law-makers of the Children's Centers' importance. This positive approach recognized the fact that few elected representatives in governmental office have the time or interest to investigate all aspects of constituents' needs and are obliged to rely heavily on informed sources. Center directors took it upon themselves to provide such evidence, with favorable legislation the result.

The opposition arguments took the familiar form of the wartime discussion. On the one hand were legislators and interest groups who opposed any sanction for maternal employment. The Catholic Church, for example, was an early opponent of Children's Centers. The other argument, of course, was financial. Legislators for the "cow counties" (agricultural counties with no need for, or interest in, day care) could see no reason for using state monies on a service of no concern to them 12/.

The barrage of letters and testimony in hearings accomplished the goal, and the Centers were retained for the first critical years. The Geddes-Kraft Child Care Centers Act of 1946 13/ provided state support on a temporary basis 14/ in the form of fiscal appropriations to school districts, with standards for eligibility of parents and standards for teachers to be set by the State Department of Education. The local school district was delegated

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[12] Initially private nurseries also expressed some opposition. They were to become a much more vocal and forceful opponent during subsequent legislative battles.

[13] Stats. 1946, Ch. 35.

[14] The temporary, crisis-oriented nature of the program thus remained. Its continuation was justified "due to the slowness of the reconversion from a wartime to peacetime basis", and to prevent the premature closing of established Centers and "the consequent disruption of the economic life of the state" (Stats. 1948, Ch. 4, Sec. 3). The Children's Centers were continued for only one year at a time until 1951.

responsibility for determination of site location, hiring and firing of employees, hours of operation, fee collection, and other administrative duties necessary to the operation of the Centers. Child care funds comprised of state appropriations and parents' fees were allocated to a special fund in the county treasury, to be maintained entirely separately from monies provided by district taxes for the operation of the public school system.

Shaping the Program to the Needs of State Funding

By this legislative action the goals of the child care program had already begun to undergo a transition. The leaders of the fight had shaped their strategies to the reality of legislators' decision making. Since the need for emergency wartime custodial care had been met and become past history, the emerging demands for care of children of socio-economically disadvantaged segments of the population -- still described as "needy" in the simplified if less euphemistic terminology of the 1940's -- were identified and built into the program. The major changes in the officially dictated goals of the program are reflected in the wording of the policy statement contained in the Education Code 15/ which mandated continuance on a one-year basis.

> The policy of the legislature . . . is to provide for the care of children of needy parents and other children in need of care and supervision during usual working hours and who would not otherwise receive such care because of the financial inability of the supporting parent. (emphasis added)

Social change served both to expand the demand for Center services and to alter the rationale for their perpetuation in ways which sidestepped objections to maternal employment. It was recognized that many women were no longer going to work just to "make dough for themselves" or placing children in child care "in order to frequent bars", but because they were the sole support of families in which there was only one parent. In addition, the high wages paid by industry during the war had given way to increased living costs. Whatever the goals of interest groups involved -- whether to reduce the burden on the welfare rolls or to meet the needs of children in a changed social environment--it had become clear that the public schools had the only administrative structure capable of maintaining such a program, and that state financial subsidy was essential. The program now fulfilled an unanticipated need which could not be met solely by the private sector.

The decision by the state in 1946 to undertake support of the Child Care facilities under the aegis of the Board of Education gave local school

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[15] Stats. 1947, Ch. 956, Sec. 19601.

districts heightened importance and essentially placed the fate of local child care programs in their hands. Where districts were supportive, the Centers flourished; where they were not, due to lack of Center leadership, district resistance, or both, they languished and occasionally expired, victims of institutional marginality 16/. Thus, continuation was dependent on the degree to which Center directors could gain support and yet retain autonomy to meet their own organizational needs. Placement of so much responsibility for the program's survival upon the director in the local district turned out to be an excellent, if inadvertent, strategy.

Day Care in the Public Schools: How It Happened

The establishment of Children's Centers within the public school system resulted from an accumulation of small decisions made over the years. The beginnings of the relationship were informal and to some extent accidental; but once established, it served as an argument for continuing and strengthening the schools' involvement in day care. The outcome was of major importance in determining the character of the program.

Even before the Depression brought the WPA nurseries, day care was offered occasionally in California schools. The fisheries and the year-round seasonal crops characteristic of California agriculture had brought the problem of seasonal workers into many school districts. Mothers would undertake short-term employment and keep older children out of school to care for younger brothers and sisters. Concerned school principals found themselves making ad hoc arrangements for the care of younger children in order to keep the older ones in school.

When federal funding initiated WPA nurseries in 1932, the schools had both a felt need and a variety of resources available. For example, many of the professional experts with whom the WPA training teachers worked were connected in some capacity with the Los Angeles City schools, primarily through the Departments of Parent Education, Guidance, and Special Education. Because the birth rate dropped markedly during the Depression, there were empty classrooms in the schools and as a result some WPA nurseries were placed

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[16] Districts did reduce the number of Centers. One district dropped its Center on the basis of a survey which indicated that most of its users did not live in the district. This particular district is now facing a suit by a taxpayers group which is demanding service. Another district simply did not bother to replace its director who retired without having "sold" the program within the district.

directly in school buildings, others on school grounds. In these early programs, experiment and innovation were possible, due in part again to the emergency of the Depression and to the fact that the bureaucratic process had not yet taken hold. In one Center at a local vocational high school, girls attending the school worked in the Center and received homemaking training at the same time 17/.

When wartime child care was begun, federal directives encouraged the active involvement of the schools. Although there was some discussion, the choice of the Department of Education as administrative body for the program was questioned not on what might seem to be the most logical ground (i.e., Is a system geared to school age children the most appropriate choice in overseeing early childhood programs?), but as an expression of what one reporter termed the "clash of opinion on the fundamental concept of nursery schools":

> Some hold that it is an educational problem while others see it as more of a social welfare problem. Some favor control by the school districts, others the State Department of Education, others the Department of Social Welfare, and still others the counties. According to some, the school teachers are better equipped to handle the(nursery) schools and others feel that the social welfare workers are the ones to do the work. 18/

The fact that the child care program was to cover a wide age range, and that some of the strongest advocates were elementary school oriented, appears to have played a significant part in the controversy. Basic to the decision, however, was the realization that there was no one else to do the job. Neither the Department of Social Welfare nor the few charitable day nurseries (typically under religious sponsorship) were equipped to undertake such a massive responsibility. The WPA nurseries, which were scheduled for termination, had many ties to the school system. The conversion of these Centers to wartime child care was obviously a logical move 19/.

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[17] The educational value derived from working under supervision with the younger children and from observation and discussion appears to be exceedingly beneficial to the high school students. One Children's Center still retains this arrangement.

[18] Los Angeles Times, January 12, 1943.

[19] Concepts of social welfare never did become part of the program. Children's Centers did not adopt the viewpoint of charitable nurseries that mothers needed professional help with their problems. The view was that they needed child care, and personal questions were asked only for purposes of establishing eligibility for service as defined by statute. Children's Centers never have had social workers, and their view toward parents has been much like that of the public schools -- to take all children as they come.

The schools' reluctance showed in the great care taken to emphasize the temporary and special nature of the program. The Superintendent of Public Instruction, speaking for the Department of Education, specifically stated:

> It is important to remember that child care centers are not a part of the public school system and for the benefit of the public school system should not . . . be considered a part of the state system of public education.
>
> (1) The governing board of a school district may establish child care centers and may discontinue them at will. The state Constitution provides that every school district shall maintain schools for children of school age.
>
> (2) The law provides that parents using child care centers shall pay a fee. The Constitution provides that a free school shall be maintained in every district. Parent fees should never become a part of our system of free public education.
>
> (3) The purpose of the child care center is to care for and supervise the children of working parents. While education cannot be separated from good care and supervision, it is not the primary purpose of child care centers, and it is the primary and central function of the public school system. 20/

Ronald W. Cox, Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1960, recalled an early meeting of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee when displeasure was expressed that "teachers" were being employed in child care services:

> There were some who thought that this might mean that child care would be integrated into the public school system. Many devices were used to avoid calling child care center employees "teachers". . . 21/

Obviously tying the program to the schools was a measure of expediency and administrative convenience. These earliest ties with the school system

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[20] California Program for the Care of Children of Working Parents (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, Publication, Vol. XII, No. 6, Aug. 1943), pp. 12-13.

[21] Cox, "The Children's Center Program", p. 2.

were primarily physical, through space and maintenance provided by local districts 22/. Using a master plan provided by Washington, administrators hastily erected a number of Centers, often on school grounds, depending upon what was available in the district. Beggars could not be choosers and the proximity to schools was considered advantageous for the extended day care of school-age children. The crisis had been met for the moment.

All wartime funding was carried out through federal grants-in-aid and parent fees in a 2-to-1 ratio. It was announced that teachers were to be paid salaries equal to those of similarly qualified teachers in the public schools. They were not, however, eligible for tenure or retirement benefits -- a strategy employed to prevent establishing the program on a permanent basis. Child care instructional permits were issued according to requirements established by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction 23/, and since applicants were scarce, an emergency permit which required no educational preparation was issued for one year 24/.

Child care personnel were treated with cool indifference by teachers in the elementary school system. In general, the Centers were recognized as a necessary evil growing out of the war emergency; their teachers were tolerated, but never accepted. While there was no outward hostility, there was implicit rejection:

> We weren't wanted in the schools -- all those howling, wetting kids! We were taking mothers out of the home, to bars and card playing. We were Commies or Socialists.

In addition, child care "teachers" were looked down upon as lacking professional status. The stereotyped image of public child care programs as

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[22] In some districts today where special Children Centers' taxes have been levied, the Centers pay the schools for maintenance. When such funds are not made available by the district, the school system often provides maintenance services without charge for the Centers.

[23] Three classes were specified: those teachers having valid California teaching credentials, those having completed two years of college training and four units in prescribed child training courses, and those with a teacher's permit issued by the State Department of Education. Los Angeles Times, April 13, 1943.

[24] Frances Presley, "Professional Preparation for Work in Child Care" (Sacramento: State Department of Education, 1956), p. 11.

custodial began early and has persisted over the years; teachers in Centers were, and occasionally still are, looked down upon as "baby-sitters". The schools themselves tended to provide more apathetic than organized opposition; the child care program was tolerated as long as it did not cost the district money. Despite official pronouncements it appears that the Department of Education itself had little time to become involved with its unplanned offspring, which threatened to be just one more hungry mouth to feed in the school system family.

CHAPTER V

MARGINALITY IN A BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEM: STRATEGIES FOR SURVIVAL

Administrative Arrangements

A special program, such as publicly supported child care in California, which becomes attached to a large established bureaucratic structure must "make its way within a family of established programs, contending with the strong, central departments for budget support and favorable treatment" (Clark, 1958, p. 58). The inherent danger in such a position is the tendency to engage in over-adaptive behavior, that is, a failure to set goals, with the result that institutional drift and "other-directedness" occur. Without strong internal leadership to set goals and a cohesive professional work force to implement them, the fight for survival and security easily becomes a hyper-anxious search for an attractive public image to provide both program legitimation and funding. Among the symptoms of marginality Clark notes are the following:

> (1) The program is backed by permissive rather than mandatory legislation, thus producing lack of district status which demands attachment to the basic legal units of the schools.
>
> (2) The program begins as a secondary responsibility of administrators working with other programs.
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> (3) The program has an absence of separate plant facilities or other fixed capital; (with) no physical roots to protect itself against retrenchment; it can be . . . readily consolidated or discontinued.
>
> (4) The program experiences the pressure of economy-minded interest groups.
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> (5) The program faces the necessity of having to sell the program to the public and especially to other educators. Administrators define their position as "step-child" in nature; they perceive they are not afforded a fundamental acceptance by the school men and by state legislators.
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> (6) Budgetary support has been derivative and unanticipated (Clark, 1958).

The Children's Center program began with good qualifications for marginality. It was sponsored by a Department which had acquired it reluctantly as part of its contribution to the war effort; funding was temporary and based on an enrollment economy. However, the program did have some assets which were utilized to the fullest, and not avilable to such programs as adult education. The physical facilities were unimpressive, but the wartime buildings did provide a home. Furthermore, their very inadequacy and failure to comply with the school building code kept local schools from casting covetous eyes upon them. Yearly finances were uncertain, but once voted, they did provide a predictable base of operation. Despite dependence on an enrollment economy, the service was nevertheless needed and prized by its clientele. In addition, the leadership had important areas of autonomy and the foresight to organize against institutional drift.

The following pages will describe, first, the status of the Children's Centers within the school system and the problems associated with this status; and, second, the strategies adopted by leadership personnel in order to achieve both security and program quality.

The Status of the Children's Centers in the State Department of Education

The Department of Education is prestigious in a state which has long prided itself not only on its local schools, but most especially on its widespread and complex college and university system. The Department is highly effective in terms of purposive institutional behavior, i.e., the setting of goals and standards, and has developed a complex chain of authority for carrying out the rules and regulations aimed at achieving those goals.

The Children's Centers have never become an integral part of the formal school system at the state level. Since the program's beginning, the relationship of the Children's Centers to the State Department of Education has been tenuous. The Centers' position in the official hierarchy was uncertain for many years until placement in 1966 in the Bureau of Administrative Services, the result of an administrative shuffle ostensibly undertaken to move the Children's Centers closer to the higher-status (and financially more secure) compensatory education program 1/. The marginal position of the Centers, evidenced by their placement outside of the Division of Instruction, has removed them from channels of communication and participation through which information normally flows, and has made the work of Center administrators more difficult in establishing legitimation for the program. On the other hand, the marginal position of the Children's Centers probably has provided some advantages. Since the program has been outside normal channels and largely

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[1] A state funded program to provide preschool education to certain categories of poor children.

ignored, personnel were granted a degree of autonomy often impossible within the mainstream of the organization 2/

The temporary status of the early child care program resulted in a minimum of mandated controls with respect to guidelines or standards. Early efforts of the Department, reflected in legislative activity, were directed primarily towards setting up eligibility requirements and fee schedules for users of the state funded child care services. Until 1957, when the program became permanent 3/, there was little provision for what the Superintendent of Public Instruction termed "plans for . . . orderly and permanent conduct" of the program. The prime function of the State Department of Education has been to set policy with respect to eligibility requirements of personnel and clientele, leaving the crucial questions of program goals and standards up to the local school districts.

Over the years the State Department of Education has supported legislative action on behalf of Children's Centers when the pressure has been sufficient to warrant it. Within the Department eligibility requirements have been adjusted up or down, again depending on the amount and source of the pressure. Otherwise Department policy appears to have been one of non-involvement.

The Status of the Children's Centers in the Local School Districts

The State Department of Education has increasingly sought to pass responsibility for program administration to local districts. At the local level, operating policy is set by the governing board of the school district, which may

> . . . Establish and maintain such Children's Centers within the district as it may deem necessary to provide for the proper supervision and instruction, including such health supervision as may be established under the standards established for Children's Centers by the Superintendent of Public Instruction -- of children between two and 16 years of age living within, and in the custody of persons residing in, the district when such supervision and instruction cannot be provided by such persons. 4/

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[2] The Supervisor in the Bureau of Administrative Services acts in a consultant capacity only; rather than enforcing standards, he evaluates their implementation, and recommends alternatives.

[3] Stats. 1957, Ch. 182.

[4] Education Code, Section 16606 (Stats, 1967).

Any power to levy special taxes for the support of the Children's Centers belongs to school district boards 5/. In addition, the board may permit use of and furnish maintenance for buildings, grounds and equipment, and may use existing administrative personnel.

In practice, the degree of involvement of the Centers with the school districts varies greatly, depending upon a number of factors. In communities where need for and interest in the Children's Centers program is minimal and the director lacks either the autonomy or the desire to work toward provision of more than minimum services, the ties may be weak and few. On the other hand, in districts where there is a great demand for services and the school district has come to perceive the Children's Centers as an integral part of the overall educational program, the interaction between school administrators and Children's Centers supervisors is likely to be frequent and complex.

The titles which Center supervisors carry vary from district to district, and can be indicative of program quality as well as size. A district which labels the Center supervisor as head teacher is likely to have a much different program from that of a district which bestows director status on the supervisor. Labeling is an effective indicator in other areas as well; in other districts where program is of unusual excellence, facilities are referred to as "child development" centers.

One director whose district gave her "the freedom to move", partly because some community members were receptive to the idea of educational experiences for young children from the beginning and partly because the director converted the others, notes:

> A program just starting must develop strength from within, the strength of its own organization. First the parents must be involved then the community. (But) the support of the schools is essential; the support of the administrative body -- and the maintenance department not the least of all -- is crucial to the quality of services Centers can offer.

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[5] "The governing board of any school district maintaining a Children's Center may include in its budget the amount necessary to carry out its Children's Center program -- and the board of supervisors shall levy a school district tax necessary to raise such an amount. The tax shall be in addition to any other school district tax authorized by law to be levied." Education Code, Section 16633 (Stats. 1967).

The Problem of Marginal Status

Funding: How to Operate a Four-Bit Program on Two-Bits

> A number of districts have commented that present revenues are inadequate to operate a satisfactory program.
>
> Board of Education Report, 1952

Funding is typically a crucial and complex factor in public school programs, but for the Children's Centers the problem has been particularly acute. Although the schools have experienced fiscal difficulties (perhaps never as acutely as in the present) they have at least been guaranteed the security of mandated and thus predictable legal provisions of funding. The Children's Centers must depend on the charity of the legislature and local districts, who are understandably chary of programs which would reduce already meager portions of the fiscal pie.

The Children's Centers have derived their funds from two sources: state aid and parent fees. For many years, the ratio approximated the original federal formula with funds allocated on a 2 to 1 basis; the state contributed 2/3 of the cost while parent fees, assessed according to a sliding scale, were to contribute 1/3. The ratio of state to parent support was maintained by means of a periodic adjustment of the parent fee schedule. All parent fees go into a common pot, so that the fees of poorer parents of one district might be balanced by higher fees from another district. If the parent contribution fell below the 1/3 contribution, fees were raised; if fees exceeded this level, they were reduced. The formula for contribution has been pegged to a rate for full cost of care per hour which is determined by the legislature.

As the cost of living rose the full cost of care inched slowly upward and there were periodic adjustments in the income ceiling for parents. The Centers were always in the awkward bind presented by the funding structure and their need to justify their existence. Children's Centers were accepted as long as they served mothers who could not afford the cost of private care, and both the Preschool Association (representing private day nursery owners) and the legislature were quick to question any services offered to mothers who did not fit a category of real need 6/. Yet needy mothers were those who could least afford the 1/3 contribution rate required by the funding structure.

By 1967 the system was in trouble. The full cost of care had to be increased, but already the mothers most in need of service could not pay even the minimum fee. Finally the state decided to reduce the parent contribution to 1/4 and raise its contribution to 3/4. The full cost of care was raised from 42¢ to 56¢ per hour. Compared to the costs of a Head Start Day Care Program in one county, which run from 71¢ to $1.67 per hour 7/, the cost per hour for Children's Centers began to seem very modest 8/.

Ironically the supervisor of the Children's Centers program, who for many years had been criticized for his high program costs by the Preschool Association 9/, now found himself trying to explain his low program costs. In response to a report that a director of a proprietary school had spoken favorably of his Children's Center costs as compared to Head Start he said,

> You really can't compare the costs of programs. It's like comparing apples and oranges. Children's Centers are open 250 days a years, 12 hours a day and they are larger facilities, which would make their per unit costs much less than Head Start operations. Head Start is open only a few hours per day, part of the year and they have smaller units as well as medical care and a host of other services. If Children's Centers meet federal interagency day care requirements, which I feel they must do, they will have to have legislation or get a school district over-ride to raise the cost of care from 56¢ to 90¢ or perhaps $1.25 an hour. Right now we bootleg a lot of services from the school district such as maintenance, health services and psychiatric services.

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[6] The Supervisor of Children's Center program defends the practice of admitting exempt groups (nurses, school teachers, etc.) on the grounds that this makes for a good cross section of society and thus provides diversity of experiences for children in the Centers. He states that he will fight very hard to see that the program stays socio-economically integrated. "If we lose our exempt category, we might end up serving only low-income families and I don't see this as desirable."

[7] Mrs. Jeanada Nolan, "Transcript of the Public Hearing", p. 75.

[8] Children's Center costs have been quoted as $1,078 for full day care for a 12 month year. Compensatory Education, which is a 2 ½ - 4 hour program, costs from $1,000 to $1,200 per year. Ibid, p. 75.

[9] Fees in proprietary nursery schools now range from 40¢ to 55¢ per hour.

Facilities: The Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe

Children's Centers not only bootlegged what they could from the local district, they also learned to do many things on their own. The teaching staff painted tables, chairs, and playground equipment, and scrounged, built, or bought out of their own pocket supplies and toys. As the Children's Centers program aged, the problem of facilities became more acute with each succeeding year. The World War II-vintage buildings, never intended to be permanent structures, became more and more obsolete; maintenance problems mounted and sapped the already meager funds. The growing need, which burgeoned as the number of one-parent families increased, meant greater and greater crowding of facilities.

> Probably no one problem, outside money itself, has more consistently plagued the program than how to obtain decent facilities to house it. Just this week I talked with the superintendent of a large Southern California school district who wanted to expand his Children's Centers program but could find no facilities to house it. He had run out of storage sheds, bus garages, quonset huts more than twenty-years old, and dead-end hallways. There just simply weren't any more adequate spaces left in the district for preschool program expansion. 10/

The problem can be traced back to the temporary, crisis-management philosophy of the wartime program when care was taken not to provide for long-range plans for fear of program permanency. Until recent years, no funding was ever purposely provided for construction of new facilities or remodeling of the old. The Children's Centers were left at the mercy of school districts which determined, with an eye on district tax resources, that charity begins at home. Other programs such as Special Education, unburdened by the "temporary" rationale, had housing standards set up in Title V of the California Administrative Code with specific space and equipment rules:

> Each of these programs set up a formal statement of their history, objectives, and activities. These then were translated into the space and equipment necessary to meet the objectives and carry on the activities. Thus the facilities required for a good program were documented in detail. 11/

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[10] Charles D. Gibson, "Pre-School Educational Housing", Presentation to the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the California Children's Centers Directors and Supervisors Association (Sacramento: mimeo, May 27, 1966).

[11] *Ibid*, p. 4.

No such plans were formulated for the Children's Centers. Most Children's Centers are located on elementary school grounds. This location of Centers has been questioned 12/. Notes Charles Gibson, Chief of the Bureau of School Planning in 1966:

> Can it be properly assumed that the elementary school site is the best location for preschool programs? . . . How well does the elementary school setting and the physical space it provides satisfy the needs of a care and educational program for the very rapid development of the child from ages two to five years? . . . Has the academically-oriented elementary teacher or supervisor ever been a vital force in assisting Children's Centers staffs to understand and help the simple yet complex two to five year old identify himself as a social entity with rights, privileges and responsibilities both in terms of himself and peers? 13/

As Gibson points out, few directors could afford the luxury of such philosophical speculation. With no provision for capital outlay, the California Children's Centers struggled for 25 years to achieve a legislative mandate for the construction of physical plant according to program needs rather than school district convenience.

In 1968, a major milestone was reached when the Dymally-Sieroty Children's Centers Construction Law (SB 39) was enacted. This bill provided one million dollars for remodeling Centers and building new facilities on a matching basis. Through passage of this legislation, fifty additional Centers were approved and were to be allocated according to need 14/. In noting the urgency of need, the bill hints at the coalition of forces which produced its passage; the schools clearly had a vested interest in its provisions:

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[12] Our own observations have led us to believe that location on school grounds in close proximity to classrooms has a restrictive effect on children's program. Teachers often are required to control noise level and appear to be influenced by the elementary school rule system.

[13] Gibson, "Pre-School Educational Housing", pp. 5-6.

[14] ". . . evidenced by existing waiting lists for service, the availability to the local agency of adequate alternate facilities in the area to be served, and the extent of local participation in providing Children's Centers facilities." (Calif. Educ. Code, Ch. 10, Div. 14, Article 7.5, Sec. 19699.23).

> School enrollments in many districts have increased drastically and many schools have been filled to capacity and have been compelled to use structures intended for Children's Centers to accommodate elementary students. The maintenance of Children's Centers meets a vital and continuing public need, and it is essential to provide additional facilities for that purpose at the earliest possible date. [15]

S.B. 39 removed one of the major pressures operating against the Children's Centers: the urgent need for capital outlay for construction of new Centers and remodeling of existing facilities. Once at the mercy of local districts, supervisors could now count on state support for building programs [16].

Professional Work Force: The Possible Dream

In its early days, quality of Children's Center program was not measured by the availability of a social worker, as in good charitable day nurseries, nor by a special educational emphasis as in certain established proprietary nurseries; it was measured by warmth of care, consistency of schedule, and nutritious meals. The program had been designed to provide care and protection, and this essentially custodial emphasis served to define "caretaking" staff as nonprofessional and placed the Children's Center program outside of the educational concerns of the Department.

The change from a custodial to an educational emphasis was begun and nurtured by knowledgeable and far-sighted directors whose program goals were clear. They perceived the relationship between qualifications of staff and program image and worked persistently and realistically to implement their goals.

Because of the marginality of the program any attempt to upgrade standards required tact and thoughtful strategy. The State Department of Education, for many years, accepted and justified the program because it was needed and not educational. However, as long as it was viewed as non-educational its position within the Department was tenuous. Therefore, the most feasible approach, and that taken by astute directors, was to upgrade qualifications as far as possible through selection of staff and then to try to get salary levels from their district which would approach suitability for existing staff.

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[15] Senate Bill 39, Section 11.

[16] The original wartime buildings came in two sizes -- one for 30 children, a larger one for 45 children. Thus Center size was limited. New buildings are being designed to house over 100 children. In large Centers cost per child is lower and more children can be served. However, data from our last study indicated that quality of care decreased as size of facility exceeded 60 children.

Another problem which the program faced in its struggle to upgrade requirements was the shortage of trained personnel and the limited availability of course work in nursery education throughout the state. By the late 1950's course work was available in most metropolitan areas, but still nonexistent in other counties which had Children's Centers.

In the early years of the Children's Center program there were no educational requirements for certification of its teachers. Consequently supervisors had little leverage in pressing for higher wages, and child care teachers were notoriously underpaid in comparison to credentialled teachers in the elementary school. Only in those districts where Children's Center supervisors worked continuously to upgrade standards and had the support of the local school board and administrators could an adequate salary schedule be achieved 17/. Where the local board and superintendent were intransigent, however, and the Children's Center supervisor failed to sell the program, salaries remained noncompetitive and the school system skimmed the cream off the teacher labor markets.

Since Children's Centers really were not part of the educational structure, organizations devoted to furthering the interests of elementary level personnel such as the California Teachers Association were of little help. In some districts the California Teachers Association studiously ignored the status-poor Children's Centers' teachers; in others they were ideationally supportive, but were unable, as a practical matter, to give assistance in obtaining higher salary schedules. This was primarily because the demand for a joint salary schedule covering both elementary schools and Children's Centers would significantly raise the amount of financial outlay required of the districts. Because there are ten pay periods for elementary school teachers and

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[17] Mrs. J at Los Altos (discussed in Part I,"Group Day Care: A Study in Diversity") pointed out that the biggest fights the Children's Centers had had over the years in the district were over salary schedule. It was her argument all along that preschool experience is the most important thing for a child's future success and that good teachers need to have more knowledge and more sensitivity with preschool children than with any other age: "It takes a better teacher to teach in preschool than at any other level." Her goal from the beginning was to have Children's Centers teachers in the same salary category as elementary teachers, a heretical view in the 1940's and 1950's. She achieved her goal by collecting data on salary schedules in all the districts and communicating these facts to supervisors and directors of other districts in a joint meeting with the superintendent of her own district.

twelve for Children's Centers personnel 18/ (open year round), demands for equal schedules would add two months to every Children's Center salary and place the cost beyond the means of most school districts.

Although Children's Center staff could not count on help from the Teachers Association, they did get support from the California Association for Nursery Education 19/. Over the years, this organization campaigned vigorously and aggressively for upgrading of qualifications. In addition, the womens' groups which had fought annually to retain the program were willing supporters of any request to the legislature. The survival tactics of political pressure which were learned by necessity were eventually helpful in obtaining upgrading of qualifications, although each push had to wait for community readiness.

The major breakthrough came in 1952 when educational requirements for Children's Center supervisors and teachers were mandated into law 20/. As a result teachers, directors, and supervisors were required to present evidence of specific educational preparation. (See Appendix C1.) Three permits were issued. Briefly these were: Type A for those holding a valid California teaching credential, Type B for those with a Bachelor's Degree, Type C, renewable under certain conditions, for those with 60 units of college credit. In addition a temporary permit was available. The temporary permit provided a loophole for communities where training facilities were not available or the school district was not supportive of the standards. Furthermore, the law contained a "grandfather" clause to include personnel already in the program.

The sudden surge in national interest in early childhood programs in the mid-sixties gave what appeared to be the needed thrust to directors who had long sought standards with more teeth in them. At this time a series of bills was introduced for the purpose of changing the status of Children's Centers to an officially educational emphasis. A major move in this direction was a change in name from Child Care Centers to Children's Centers. Their official mandate for service also was changed from "care and supervision" to

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[18] Some districts use a four-week salary schedule which results in thirteen pay periods. In addition to the monthly salary, Centers generally have an hourly pay schedule to cover part-time personnel.

[19] Now California Association for Education of Young Children.

[20] Calif. Admin. Code, Title V., Education, Sect. 137-138.5.

"supervision and instruction" 21/.

With their new educational label, opportunities for Children's Centers to cooperate with the newly created state preschool program (compensatory education) appeared promising. The other missing ingredient for an educational program was a staff which could be considered professional. Standards were drawn up which would have eliminated possibilities of working in Children's Centers without substantial educational preparation, or supervising without at least a B.A. and course work in early childhood.

These changes were clearly initiated in anticipation of state legislation to provide a compensatory education program for preschool children whose eligibility would be determined by the State Department of Social Welfare. It seemed logical that any participation in this program by Children's Centers should be based on its educational value. At long last it appeared that teeth could be put into higher standards.

This hoped-for goal was not achieved. Opposition to the new standards came from sections of the community who were concerned for job opportunities among the poor. The Los Angeles Economic Youth Opportunity Agency and Head Start personnel fought bitterly to get a career ladder. They received support from Department of Social Welfare personnel active in implementing the new compensatory education program, who felt that the standards were too high and worked to get entry level requirements.

The requirements which finally were approved did not substantially change the 1952 requirements. They did, however, provide for a legitimate plan to enter the program with no academic requirements. Briefly the requirements for an instructional permit require a B.A. with work in early childhood, or allow a postponement of requirements on the basis of 60 units and 2 years of experience. A provisional permit can be obtained with as little as one year of experience in some nursery program and enrollment in a junior college, or four years of experience in a nursery school and no educational preparation. (See Appendix C2.)

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[21] "It is the intent of the Legislature that the programs established in Children's Centers provide educational services for children to aid them in developing the abilities and skills which will make school achievement more possible. The policy of the Legislature in enacting this chapter is to continue Children's Centers to provide supervision and instruction for children . . ." Statement of Legislative policy (Educational Code, Chapter 5, Section 16601). As amended by AB 1281, Filed with Secretary of State, July 23, 1965.

Some directors in local districts felt that the State Board of Education had really sold them out. However, the Supervisor of the Children's Center program has said that he had come to see the value of the requirements in permitting a variety of people to come into the program 22/.

The Chief of the Bureau of Compensatory Preschool Educational Programs in the State Department of Education described the advantages of these requirements at the 1968 public hearings on day care by noting:

> California is in a rather enviable position, I believe, of having already in effect an excellent ladder for taking in the indigenous person who has had experience in Head Start, Preschool or Children's Centers. We have an entry level which will provide for postponed requirements Children's Center permit. As she climbs up the ladder and begins to get units, she may get a regular Children's Center permit, and then with articulation between the junior colleges and the state colleges . . . go on up the ladder to full professionalism, if this is what she wishes. It is possible for someone with four years of experience to enter with a postponed-requirments Children's Center permit. . . 23/

Regardless of state minimums local districts still have the option to maintain higher standards, and many directors will not hire personnel with minimum qualifications 24/.

Early childhood educators feel that continued upgrading of teacher and supervisor qualifications, accompanied by a salary level commensurate with that of credentialled public school teachers, is essential to providing children the educational experiences they will need to cope with an increasingly complex social and economic environment. The importance of making requirements relevant to program goals, rather than merely raising standards as an end in itself, is the prime concern for the leaders in early childhood education organizations. The attitude of those who have worked toward upgrading of standards in the Children's Centers for so many years is summed

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[22] According to a memorandum submitted at the day care hearings, ". . . 89.5 percent hold valid teaching credentials or regular Children's Center permits as of November 1966." This figure does not indicate what percentage were "grandfathered" in. "Transcript of the Public Hearing", p. 17.

[23] Mrs. Jeanada Nolan, "Transcript of the Public Hearing", p. 75.

[24] Unless, of course, they could be employed under a career training program.

up in the statement of Mrs. Marian Anderson, State President of California Association for the Education of Young Children, at the public hearings on day care:

> Please don't talk about bringing standards down. Talk about fixing up the hang-ups. . . all of the problems. . . and varying interpretations (in the many types of preschool programs currently in operation). 25/

What Makes the Children's Centers Tick?

Regulation of Program Quality

Q. In Children's Centers who is responsible for the kind of supervision undertaken by the licensing department?
A. There isn't anyone.

The Children's Center program differs in this respect from other nursery programs in California. Responsibility for quality resides in the director, not in supervisory enforcement of minimum requirements. The Department of Education delegates responsibility and assumes that it will be competently handled. Autonomy, in this respect, is striking.

The Supervisor of the Children's Center programs at the state level has worked closely over the years with the Department of Social Welfare on an informal basis to establish recommended standards and guidelines. In spite of generalized standards, there is much variation among districts in implementation, depending on the competencies of supervisors at the local level in perceiving needs and securing the economic means for meeting them. Marked differences among districts can be found in such areas as safety rules, ranging from rigid enforcement of prohibitions on running, climbing, and installation of swings to individualized rules with much responsibility for enforcement shared by children.

The Department does have standards but they are recommended, not obligatory. In the early 1940's, a series of guidelines was assembled, probably gathered from Department of Social Welfare and WPA nurseries. Known for years as the Children's Center Bible and recently revised, the guidelines contain recommendations on numbers of toilets, square feet per child, etc., but the actual decisions on standards to be implemented are made at the local level.

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[25] Testimony of Mrs. Marian Anderson, "Transcript of the Public Hearing", p. 206.

Constant evaluation and upgrading of program standards also has gone on primarily at the local level. As noted, there are few written requirements pertaining specifically to Children's Centers in the administrative code, and the State Department of Education has limited legal responsibility. Some people now see this lack of regulatory provisions as an unmet need in the program:

> Our concern with standards and ratios as related to Children's Centers is that they are not mandated; they are not recorded in any place so that we can say "this is the ratio" or "these are the guidelines". Now, this is being worked on, but as our consultants have gone into Children's Centers, these is the feeling that assistance is needed in helping meet standards. . .
>
> As related to program, the state preschool program has a mandated evaluation. At the present time we have no evaluative instrument or mechanism for evaluation as related to the children in Children's Centers. We need also further to acknowledge that evaluation for this age group is more difficult, but we might want to think about effectiveness. 26/

Peer-group regulation: The California Children's Centers Supervisors and Directors Association. The comparatively few restrictions which were placed on Children's Centers personnel in the early years of institutional growth made possible, as well as necessitated, the development of an informal structure which has been the basis for most of the creative activity in the program. An old timer reports:

> In the beginning the director, typically, did everything and got no help. The director did all of her own employing, all of her own buying and the school district, in effect, said: 'We will let you stay here, but just don't take any of our time or give us any trouble".

Common feelings of isolation from the rest of the school system resulted in an esprit-de-corps and sense of belonging to an educational movement of the future. The Children's Center program has capitalized on this asset.

Although there is no routine system to check on program quality in Children's Centers, this function is not absent. It is carried out primarily by the California Children's Centers Supervisors and Directors Association,

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[26] Testimony of Mrs. Jeanada Nolan, "Transcript of the Public Hearing", p. 75.

composed of those directly responsible for the administration of Children's Centers. This organization fulfills on an unofficial basis a number of functions which are indispensable to the setting and maintenance of standards [27]. Because the work group is comparatively small and cohesive, bound together by informal ties and commitment to common and articulated goals, it can achieve what a formal authority-oriented system often can not: the meeting of both institutional and individual needs.

One of the main functions of the Supervisors and Directors' organization is to set program standards. Although the Superintendent of Public Instruction is authorized by the legislature [28] to establish standards for the Children's Centers, these standards relate primarily to conditions of service and eligibility requirements. Objectives for curriculum are outlined in the code [29], but they tend to be too broad, open-ended and ambiguous to be implemented in the child care setting without further definition. It falls to the Supervisors and Directors Association to articulate these standards:

> They have workshops and annual meetings where they really thrash things out as to what the practices are; what their interpretations of eligibility are, everything that may come up.

The State Supervisor works closely with the group in a consultant capacity and personally visits those districts which ask for clarification of official Department policy which is often clouded by a haze of bureaucratic obfuscation [30]. The Association worked for four years on a set of guidelines for curriculum, which has been recently published: "It was supposed to have come through the Department of Education", one supervisor pointed out, "but there are so many channels for clearing, so many people would have to read and approve it and pass it on to others to read and approve, that we bypassed the department" 31/. In the past, the Association had both a northern and a southern California group; the former put out a publication for legislators, while the latter worked on a long-range plan for Children's Centers. Of the recent publication, the supervisor quoted above notes: "This, of course, is only a guideline. We had our goals and knew what we wanted from the beginning."

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[27] In the public school system, by contrast, this task is performed by rules mandated at the top decision-making level and enforced by line positions in the hierarchy.

[28] California Education Code, Stats. 16601 - 16644.

[29] California Administrative Code, Title V., Education, Stats. 7916.

[30] One district requested clarification of the exempt category (i.e., families eligible for Children's Center services under categories other than one-parent families covered by the means test), asking for a current list of categories from the Director of Public Employment. Since the director had reported that there were none, the order had come down through the Board of Education that no one working in any kind of defense industry could now be considered to be in an exempt category.

In addition to working on program development, the Association trains newcomers through a "big sister" relationship to the established Centers. When a new Center is set up, an experienced director (or, as in the case of Foothill City, a head teacher from the district) from a nearby community serves as consultant to the new administrator. In this manner, directors train newcomers and oversee development of good program. This strategy, effective in the past, may become increasingly important since many incoming Children's Centers supervisors are former elementary school principals, often with little or no experience in working with young children. Most of the directors are knowledgeable and in many cases, according to one administrator, "twenty years ahead of the consultants in Sacramento because they (the consultants) came from elementary education and were really not up-to-date on preschool programs".

By no means are all elementary school personnel who have come into the Children's Centers lacking in the training, experience, and understanding needed in programs for young children; many prefer working with young children and are well-suited by personal characteristics to it. Similarly not all long-time directors possess the qualities which insure good program: "There are some people who probably offer the same program that they did twenty years ago" 32/.

The Supervisors and Directors Association for many years has been a training ground for executive professional leadership. The strategies of

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[31] The Department undoubtedly tolerates this by-passing of authority with a sigh of relief since it gets the job done with more efficiency and economy -- not to mention professional skill -- than the Department itself could probably achieve, given the many other tasks it must perform.

[32] Some who started out with the program and who do not have the educational qualifications to do anything else were "grandmothered in" and stayed because, although the pay was not good, they were eligible for the retirement system for state employees. Many of these people at the end of the war already had quite a few years of service and, since salaries have been raised considerably in the last four or five years, were retired "at a good stipend".

creative organizational leadership practiced by the most effective supervisors -- who represent, at the local level, the real decision-making power of the program -- reflect the comments of Clark:

> In practice, leadership includes building and adjusting organizations to achieve certain purposes. Where we emphasize purposive aspects of leadership, we ordinarily stress also the control of the means by which purpose is attained. But leadership is adaptive as well, in that purposes usually cannot be achieved unless the organization comes to terms with its environment. A major responsibility of leadership is the working out of satisfactory adjustments between organizations and environmental pressures. The exercise of leadership in education, as in other institutional areas, means facing the continuous problems of adjusting organizations and their purposes to environmental pressures, and of understanding and controlling the long-run effects of adaptations that are made. (Clark, 1958, p. 44)

A dedicated, cohesive professional work force has been one of the greatest strengths of the Children's Centers. Turnover at the director level has been exceedingly low over the years; this consistency in leadership undoubtedly has strengthened the program immeasurably. It has, for the most part, escaped the dysfunctions of marginality because the Children's Centers have retained, over a long period of time, a number of directors and supervisors who possessed the capabilities for creative administration which typify executive professional leadership.

The Father of the Children's Centers

The Children's Centers are administered at a state level by a Supervisor and Field Representative located in the Bureau of Administrative Services, Division of Public School Administration. This position has been held for twenty-four years by the same man, whose long tenure, through which he has come to be known as the Father of the Children's Centers, was hardly part of his intention when he first took the job. In 1946 the present supervisor, John Weber, was looking for an administrative position in the public schools. Between the two positions of vice-principal in a small northern California community and assistant supervisor in the Children's Centers , a hierarchical position which might take an entire career to reach in the main body of the school system, he chose the latter because he wanted to secure the experience for public school administration: "At that time, I wanted to go out and become a budding young superintendent instead of a 'sand-box' Children's Center Supervisor." He never returned to his original goal:

> Somehow or other I just stayed. After ten years I realized I probably wasn't going to quit; I guess I'd found my niche. The kind of devotion we all had (in those early years) is typical

> in any program where people really give blood, sweat and tears to a program -- a cause, really. The involvement comes from being able to solve problems -- then it really becomes a cause.
>
> I get rejuvenated every year when I go to the annual parents' conference and parents come up to me and tell me how much it means to them to have the service and how it means a lot to everyone.

His official power is limited -- as field representative he has limited authority to enforce -- but his ability to communicate effectively, to give support where support is needed in order to develop a cohesive work group, provides perhaps a more effective alternative. Because there are a minimum of hierarchical levels in the Children's Center organizational structure with no position between the Center supervisors at the local level and Weber's in the Bureau of Administrative Services, there can be an informal communication network which quite possibly could not survive were the Centers located in the formal structure which typifies the rest of the Department.

> You always have to work with individuals and personalities. I think you have to try to send as many communications as possible to as many people as possible, so that whenever anything happens in the program, like the parents getting together for a meeting, you send the information to key people to let them know what is happening.

Weber admits he has greater success with Center staff and parents than with the State Board of Education: "You really can't send them communications; they spend so much time with the Department of Finance and the legislative analyst that they really don't have time for things like Children's Centers." In his job function as fiscal manager and legislative liaison, he has succeeded nevertheless in doing a tremendous amount of communicating, particularly of the type of facts which convince legislators of program needs [33]. During the last twenty-five years, 119 bills concerning the Children's Centers have been introduced, of which 49 were signed by Governors, "for a batting average of .412", noted Weber at the 1968 hearings on day care. "If any of you ladies know your baseball, that's not bad. . . in fact it's phenomenal." The success of these bills undoubtedly was due not only to the impressive efforts of concerned organizations, but to Weber's ability to convince doubting solons.

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[33] Until this year the Department of Education had one person who did most of the contacting of state legislators; this arrangement has been altered and Weber finds he is doing much more talking to lawmakers, along with other Department officials: "I find this interesting, but the legislators find it confusing to have to deal with so many people."

In place of job status, which is low in relation to other organizational positions in the Department of Education -- a continuing reminder of marginality [34] -- Weber relies on what he unassumingly terms "good fellowship" and a steady flow of correspondence to division chiefs, weighted with salient facts concerning the achievements and needs of the Children's Centers. Making no attempt to cover up deficiencies in the program or in his leadership, he appears to be a rare bird -- the authentic administrator.

The avoidance of over-restrictive legal controls at the state level appears due in part to the fact that as a step-child of the system the Children's Centers were allowed to grow up very much as they saw fit. It has been assumed -- an assumption which has proven generally true -- that supervisors in the local school districts were competent to handle a decision-making role. Governance by peer group has been the modus operandi in California; judged by performance it has been a highly successful one in those districts where strong leadership was and is present.

Parental Support: The Children's Center Parents' Association

Two factors account for the survival and growth of the Children's Centers. One is the diligence with which professional educators pressed for the program. The second, and perhaps the most crucial, factor has been the battles which the Children's Center Parents' Association has waged with the state legislature. There are a number of communities in California in which the liaison between school district administrators, Children's Center staff, and parents have produced strong parents' groups. The commitment and leadership of professionals gave the parents the support they needed to develop their own machinery for the advocacy of favorable legislation in Sacramento. Without this help, the parent groups have been quick to agree, "we could not have done it".

One of the main reasons the program persisted was because the working mothers who so desperately needed the services of the Centers inundated legislators with appeals to continue their operation. The overwhelming pressure exerted by parents kept the Centers open past what became a predictable series of eleventh-hour crises. The pattern of notification of almost over-night closing of Centers, followed by an avalanche of protests to the legislature and subsequent continuation of program, became a permanent feature of life for the Children's Centers parents until lawmakers were convinced that the need for day care had long since outmoded its temporary status.

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[34] For many years job security was minimal in the Children's Centers; tenure for teachers was purposely withheld to prevent permanence. At one point in the early days, when the Children's Centers underwent one of a constant series of administrative upheavals, Weber was told: "You'll be better off if we make it a Bureau and give half-time to someone else; then in case the program fails we can put you some place else in the system."

Through the Parents' Association it was possible for mothers to achieve a sense of belonging and worth they might never be able to attain in the external society, as well as a degree of political power. The question of racial integration has never been raised in the Association: "Nobody ever thought anything about it -- we just were (integrated), from the start!"

The reasons for organization of parents in the Children's Centers were thus six-fold, encompassing the need for:

1. legislation on a statewide basis;
2. power to act on a local basis, originally to secure a federal grant and later to keep the Centers open;
3. dissemination of information;
4. education of parents;
5. community education;
6. friends, to share common interests and exchange ideas.

Clearly the most important role of the Parents' Association has been to support legislation favorable to the Children's Centers. Information input proceeds through administrative channels beginning in Weber's office in the State Department of Education and going through the district supervisors of the Children's Centers to the head teachers and staff to parents. The function of the parents' group, acting on this information, is to write letters and represent the Centers through their elected representatives at statewide Association meetings and in the legislature. The Association proudly points out that, although many other organizations work for the benefit of the children in the Centers, theirs is the only statewide group exclusively identified with the Children's Centers.

The budget of the Children's Centers Parents' Association is exceedingly low and its activities are financed entirely by a minimal parent membership fee [35]. Financial resources are next to non-existent since no outside funds are available. In the opinion of many -- both participants and observers -- it was the very fact of that poverty which contributed most to the effectiveness of the group and the Centers. A speaker at a recent Parents' Association meeting pointed out:

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[35] Present fee is $1.00 per year per family.

> This organization has a prestigious place in services to children of California. It started on a shoestring and continued on a shoestring. For this reason it has commanded the most creative activity. Parents and children made things out of scrap and junk. The fact that you (parents) have been poorly supported financially means the creative achievement has been very great -- greater than in other segments (of day care). 36/

Although parents are not active in all districts, and in some are viewed as passive receivers of care, their overall role within the program has been important. Participation in the organization has conferred qualities of independence, competence, and responsibility upon Children's Center parents.

End of an Era: The Future of the California Children's Centers

> . . . Title I, Title VII, Title IV, Social Security, you name it. . . . It's a real game. But it's not a game on the local level until you really get them under one roof. So many counties have started separately. You start with OEO running Head Start, the schools running another part of preschool, the districts running Children's Centers, and Welfare playing another role, with private licensing of single homes. These different programs must get together! 37/

To those who fought so hard to retain Children's Centers at a time when concern for early childhood was almost non-existent, the sudden inundation by funds, people, and programs for young children has been like a dream. These leaders also have grave concerns for the outcome of the present proliferation of programs, many of which are, like the wartime plan, urgency measures with broad, open-ended and often ambiguous goals and few, if any, tested guidelines and standards.

At the same time, responsible spokesmen for early childhood programs recognize the need for re-evaluation of goals:

> This is indeed a time to take a good long look at what we are doing, where we want to go and how we ought to go about

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[36] Dr. Charlotte D. Elmott, "Families Living in a Changing World", presentation at Twentieth Annual Conference California Parents' Association for Children's Centers, Los Angeles, November 16, 1968.

[37] Mr. Joseph Denhart, "Transcript of the Public Hearing", p. 167.

> providing the very best program possible, providing supervision and sound education for every child who needs day care. 38/

Current and Future Problems

Articulating the problems facing both day care programs in general and the Children's Centers in particular, speakers at the 1968 hearings on public day care before committees of the California legislature pinpointed the following areas of concern 39/.

1. Terminology: the ambiguous semantics employed in references to programs. "Are we talking about custodial care, when we say child care, or are we talking about the kind of service which is truly a service to families, but is also something that is going to benefit the children?"

2. Training of professional staff: early childhood education goals versus employment needs of poverty-level individuals. "I don't think that we are serving the purpose for which funds are set aside, either federally or in the state, when we offer child care without sufficient guidance and direction (by) people who have studied young children, not just their own . . . If we are to do more than pay lip service, then we mustn't just wave aside (qualification requirements) and say 'Well, let's not be too worried about standards' . . . because we are thinking about employment . . . These two things can be blended and brought together."

3. Program continuity: providing security and stability in services for the children and families. "Children should not be removed from the program just because parents become self-supporting. . . . I am hoping that consideration will be given to the fact that there may be many families, not exactly living in the ghetto but just one notch above, and it only takes a hair's breadth of their not being able to continue to get services or to get in (the Children's Centers program)."

4. Program articulation: coordination of educational goals of schools with those of preschool program. "We have to be concerned about -- articulation of the educational program so that we are not focusing on younger children and not sending children from all kinds of group experiences into the classroom, having learned or acquired characteristics which the teacher in the classroom must negate. If we do a good job with four-year-olds in the program . . . we have helped children to develop a

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[38] Mrs. Jeanada Nolan, "Transcript of the Public Hearing", p. 74.

[39] Theresa Mahler, "Transcript of the Public Hearing", pp. 37-43.

> good self-image -- to become articulate, not only to think, but to be able to say what they think -- to become exploratory, curious. Can a teacher have 40 children (in a kindergarten) who are exhibiting these qualities? No. So we should work towards this continuum so that the good things that happen before kindergarten may continue . . . on through school."

Day Care and Compensatory Education - Good Bedfellows?

Attempts to coordinate Children's Centers with other early childhood programs have raised a series of sticky problems. Obviously it is sensible and almost mandatory to coordinate the programs for preschool children now sponsored by the public schools. Such attempts have highlighted the skimpy salary schedules in Children's Centers. Qualified teaching personnel tend to gravitate either towards elementary or compensatory education programs where the pay is generally higher, although for Children's Center staff to move to the latter is a high-risk venture due to the here-today-gone-tomorrow nature of many federal anti-poverty programs.

In one community

> . . . the school district was going to put fifteen ESEA (Elementary and Secondary Education Act) children into the Children's Center in the morning. The head teacher of the Center was going to teach them, but she was getting $3.75 per hour and the head teacher for ESEA was getting $6.50. The question arose: was she to get $6.50 for the four hours she taught ESEA children and then $3.75 for the rest of the time?

The movement of the educational consultant, assigned to Children's Centers originally four steps below the elementary education consultant on the pay scale, to the Bureau of Compensatory Education achieved greater status and financial remuneration for the consultant. The move also was supposed to encourage coordination of program but appears, in effect, to have short-changed the Children's Centers on services. While all seven consultants in the Bureau are technically available to Centers, their jobs are "cut ten ways" and the Centers tend to get little help. In addition there has been criticism of the move as a further fragmentation of one program in an effort to coordinate all preschool programs.

The Search for Solutions

Perhaps one of the most creative approaches to the newest dilemmas facing group care programs has been undertaken in Marin County. Four county departments of education have been integrated into one program which has six separate sources of fundings: 1331 (state funded preschool), full-year Head Start, summer Head Start, Children's Centers program, county money, and parent fees. All these are integrated into one program with one director out of one office: "This", notes the director, Mr. Joseph Denhart, "is rather unique." Difficulties in arranging transfer among school districts of kindergarten children who needed day care in the Children's Centers and lack of adequate facilities for Head Start precipitated the coordination.

> I think it's to some advantage that we have it (administered) out of the Board of Supervisors because it's not just baby-sitting, it's not just education, it's not just any one thing -- it's community service. This is why we say "250 families", not "200 kids" or "300 kids" -- "families". The parents were involved and parents changed the hours. They said "you can't operate until 5 o'clock or 5:30". We're open until 6:15 p.m. and we'll probably go to 6:30 p.m. The parents are involved; it's their Center; it's a community service. I think this is where the need is, to get the parents involved, not handcuff the administration and the staff and say there is nothing we can do. I think there is something you can do.
>
> . . . The significant thing about the Social Security Act, Title IV, Part A, as it will influence programs in the State of California, is really something to look at. It's going to put school districts, county offices, and school superintendent offices together with welfare for the first time in many cases. Welfare departments by and large say Children's Centers are a school program. They have a lot in common if you really look at the family unit, and that is what we're trying to preserve. [40]

At least one district thus already has accomplished the goal of the National 4 C (Community Coordinated Child Care) program.

The Umbrella Concept

The professional and administrative leadership which has served the cause of the Centers so diligently for so many years is not about to give up the fight. Attention has been turned to achieving a common "umbrella" for children's services. Some district supervisors see the need for a State Early Childhood Department in which every program could be coordinated: "At this point", one supervisor notes, "Compensatory Education (state funded) 1331, Children's Centers, and Head Start are hardly communicating." The Supervisor of Children's Centers would like to see possibly two umbrellas, "with the part-day preschool programs under one and programs offering full day care under another, bridged by a policy-forming commission which would involve both the preschool programs and the Children's Centers and like programs from the private sector". Since the Board of Education is not prepared to do licensing, the Children's Centers Supervisor would not want to see that function taken away from the Department of Social Welfare. He favors closer connection with the Division of Instruction, since the Children's Centers need more help with educational program and are not likely to get it under the present administrative arrangement.

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[40] Joseph Denhart, "Transcript of the Public Hearings", p. 166.

There is little question in the minds of Center leadership that the 1970's will bring marked changes in the California Children's Centers program. Their ability to meet environmental pressures with innovative strategies will meet the ultimate test as school districts fight for their fiscal lives and as attempts to grapple with the proliferation of federally supported programs increase.

Summary

In summary, the California Children's Centers have emerged during the past twenty-five years from a crisis-oriented emergency program for custodial care into a stable institution oriented toward meeting comprehensive social needs. Children's Center personnel have understood from the beginning that their program existed on a "swim or sink" basis. Among the factors which apparently account for its survival are the following:

1. Utilization of the opportunity provided by the war to establish Centers within the system of public education where a tradition of day care services already existed. Effective safeguards were accepted which insured protection of the established school system from encroachment by the day care program.

2. Continuing, determined, and effective pressure by its clientele for program continuation. Use of arguments that mothers could maintain independence and stay off of welfare rolls counteracted conservative opposition to maternal employment.

3. Effective and dedicated leadership within the program. Leaders had a clear demonstration of their importance to the program and responded by real dedication. The degree of administrative autonomy and style of peer group governance provided by the program undoubtedly increased the effectiveness and job satisfaction and resulted in very low turnover of key staff. Stability of staff led to maximum utilization of limited resources and capitalization on available opportunities -- an outcome directly due to continuity of employment.

CHAPTER VI

THE LEADERSHIP NETWORK

Personal Risk-Taking in a Marginal Profession

Day care and nursery education, like other marginal enterprises, have offered their personnel challenge, but not prestige or security. The accomplishments to which the field can now point reflect the consistency and devotion, as well as the skill, of a core of professional leaders. Their personal and professional characteristics, which will be examined in this chapter, help to explain some of the characteristics of day care programs.

A marginal enterprise necessarily relies heavily on the competence and commitment of individuals. Unlike large-scale bureaucratic establishments, which are structured with the express goal of system-maintenance in spite of turnover and varying competence of personnel, small and struggling programs have no guarantee of continuity. Their life depends on personal leadership.

Effective leadership in early childhood education has been, above all, a matter of commitment. Individuals from varied backgrounds, but with shared concern for children and families, have worked together to build a sense of community and a firm foundation of good programs. Because their number has been relatively small, and because they have tended to remain in the field and in the geographic area over a number of years, the leaders have usually known each other personally. They have shared the experience of freedom, flexibility, a chance to do one's own thing by defining a job and creating programs in a not-yet-established endeavor -- as well as the lack of security that goes with these advantages.

The Process of Commitment

> As I remember, I deliberately chose this field because of my interest in and pleasure in working with children; my wish to prepare myself for a professional area of interest to which I could contribute whether I was married or single; one which, to be honest, was not competitive with men. . .

The marginal status of the field has been an important factor in the self-selection of its leaders. Limited opportunities for professional training, lack of prestige, and lack of security are among the characteristics which have served to recruit primarily women a) especially married women, b) able to gain gratification through cooperation in the service of a common goal rather than through competition for status, and c) individualistic and imaginative enough to create new structures where none existed before.

Some leaders began with a purposeful commitment to nursery education as a radical enterprise, which would foster the development of individual potential by beginning with its roots in early childhood. They saw it as a cornerstone of such movements as progressive education, mental health, family life education, and equality for women. They had to use considerable ingenuity to find (often to design for themselves) appropriate professional training and meaningful employment. Others discovered the field by accident, especially through parent cooperative nursery schools; many mothers who began by enrolling their children for a nursery school experience have found themselves still in nursery school long after their children have graduated. Some elementary school teachers entering Children's Centers employment as a stop-gap measure have remained on a permanent basis -- co-opted into the day care field by inspired leaders and ending up in leadership roles themselves.

> I enrolled my three year old son in a private parent cooperative. I discovered I liked the work, and possibly with very little additional preparation could obtain a position in a nursery school. I believed it would be a type of work that would enhance my family rather than detract from it. . .
>
> I have stayed in the field because of the challenges it offers. It uses up every bit of knowledge and skill you have and makes you reach for more. I grew up on a farm. My father once said he liked to see things grow. I believe I have been influenced by him; I like to see people grow -- children, parents, teachers, and others.

As pioneers in an unfriendly environment must, the leaders have worked together. They needed and welcomed each other's support. They were few and their status was uncertain. Because there was more work to be done in promoting the profession than there were people to do it, competence could be recognized and utilized without regard to the formal position of its possessor. Although some leaders have held important and visible positions, others have not, and it is even possible to be recognized as a leader without being employed at all. The major professional organization accepts members without restriction, and several of its influential officers have been persons trained in the field but, during their term of office, staying at home to raise their own children.

Because the benefits of employment in this field rarely included security, most leaders have necessarily had other resources enabling them to take risks. The majority were married women not obligated to full self-support. Those who did have to support themselves typically took out the insurance of one or more teaching credentials and/or an M.A. degree, enabling them to move back to elementary teaching if financially necessary, or to supplement income by college or adult school teaching.

Though the professionalization of nursery education has required, as in any profession, the efforts of a corps of full-time workers, many of the full-time workers in this field began as part-time workers and extended their time commitment only after their own children were grown. Among day care teachers, in contrast to day care supervisory personnel, those employed full time are often less likely to be permanently commited to the field than many part-time teachers. At least in California, part-time positions were for many years able to attract better educated personnel than full-time positions in nursery teaching. The part-time people were often professionally qualified, but not interested in full-time employment and not strongly dependent on the salary. In contrast, full-time day care teaching was, for many of its personnel, a second-choice job; the hours were longer and the pay less than public school teaching, but the requirements for employment were also less. Many teachers with out-of-state or foreign credentials, for example, accepted it as a temporary expedient while they were completing California certification requirements. Their attitude was perhaps that echoed by a college student who was working part time in a day care center while pursuing her education; when asked about her occupational goals, she said proudly, "I'm going to be a teacher", clearly implying that her present job was only baby sitting in contrast to what she looked forward to doing.

Although teachers in interim or part-time jobs would not be expected to have a permanent commitment to a professional field, many have developed such commitment through identification with leaders who offered them not only inspiration but reality models as well, since often they too were wives and mothers. For many of the effective leaders, it appears that the relationship of their work to their own family lives has provided a resolution of the professional woman's identity crisis (this has been true both for those who entered the field through parent cooperatives and those who entered before marriage).

> I knew that I wanted to teach nursery school when I was in high school. Looking back, I wonder why I was so singlemindedly persistent about it!
>
> I chose the college I wished to attend with this goal in mind and once there succeeded in establishing a meaningful identification with an outstanding nursery educator who was on the

faculty. Through education I caught the spirit of continuing professional inquiry which has never left me.

Even the process of finding my first position reinforced the choice. Since I was so poor I might have been tempted into public school teaching, which paid more, except for the fact that most school districts during the depression would not hire married women and I had no mood for giving up intent to marry at the earliest possible moment.

The so-called Children-Career Dilemma didn't enter my thinking when my three daughters were very young. There was in me enough of what Morton Hunt calls the neo-traditional attitude toward women's role to make me want to stay home and care for the children myself. As they reached preschool age there was ample opportunity to put professional skills to volunteer use.

When my youngest daughter was three I was talked into taking a part-time position in the nursery school where she and her next older sister were enrolled. The children eventually left nursery school, but I didn't.

The content of my professional field enhanced family living and my personal set of values enhanced my professional endeavors.

Who Are the Leaders?

We were able to make a systematic study of the characteristics of California leaders in day care and nursery education by gathering biographical data through questionnaires and interviews [1]. As Table 4 shows, today's leaders

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[1] Our sample was identified by a combination of judgment, stratified and systematic methods, as follows: Data for the entire study were gained through personal interviews with individuals in a variety of positions, and through reading records of legislative hearings, organizational minutes, and other documents. Each name encountered at least three times in these sources was included in a master list. This list of more than 200 was stratified into a number of categories selected to be sure the various possible channels of influence (e.g., Children's Centers, teacher education, private day care, federal programs, etc.) were represented. Names in each category were then screened by a panel of judges, including both "old timers" in the field and those more recently involved, to eliminate those now out-of-state, deceased, and those not really active in leadership roles. After elimination of duplication across categories, every other name in each category was drawn, yielding a sample of 53.

(footnote cont. on p. 111)

TABLE 4

LEADERSHIP PERSONNEL

Selected Characteristics of Respondents (N=33)	Frequency
Sex	
Female	30
Male	3*
	33
Principal Position Held (Current position except in the case of retired respondents)	
College faculty member**	13
Children's Center supervisor	5
Owner-director of private nursery	4
Director of parent participation nursery school (affiliated with public parent education program)	2
Supervisor, Department of Social Welfare	2
Public education administrator, county or state	2
Legislative chairman, professional organization (volunteer)#	1
University extension administrator	1
Regional training officer, Head Start	1
Administrator, community welfare council	1
Public school compensatory pre-kindergarten teacher	1
	33
Highest Degree Held	
Bachelor's	9
Master's	19
Doctorate	5
	33
Field of Professional Preparation	
Education	21
Home economics	6
Social work	7
Psychology	1
	35##

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* Even this number probably over-represents the percentage of male leadership in the field. One of our categories was simply "men", since we were interested in learning more about the progress by which these rarities entered the field. However, Head Start has added greatly to male involvement, and several school districts have recently hired male supervisors of Children's Centers (usually combining supervision of Children's Centers and Head Start).

** Nearly half the remaining 20 leaders also are or have been college instructors, most part-time, in university extension or junior colleges.

A professionally qualified teacher raising her own children and not currently employed.

## Two people have training in both education and social work.

in this field are most likely to hold academic positions as teacher educators, but there are a good many nursery directors and supervisors as well as a sprinkling of other positions represented. Furthermore, most of the leaders have had a variety of roles in the field at different times. More than half have been involved in the federal emergency programs -- WPA and Lanham nurseries in the early years, or Head Start and other compensatory programs today (some individuals span both eras) -- as teachers, consultants, trainers, or administrators. While private nursery directors and Children's Center supervisors are likely to have remained in one school or district for many years, others are better represented by work histories like those summarized below.

> Mrs. S. has been a teacher of primary grades and nursery-kindergarten in public and private schools in five different communities over an eight year period.
>
> Mrs. K. has volunteered in professional organizations and has been Head Start consultant and part-time college instructor for seven years while raising her own children. She now is head teacher in a compensatory education pre-kindergarten in public school.
>
> Mrs. A. lists her positions as teacher, wartime day care center, one year; teacher in public school kindergarten in two communities, five years; teacher, university laboratory school kindergarten, five years; and faculty member in education at two colleges, thirteen years.
>
> Mrs. B. has been director, nursery for visually handicapped children for six years; director of WPA and Lanham nurseries in two communities, six years; director, parent cooperative nursery, six years; college instructor, university extension and private college, and consultant to Head Start, over a period of fourteen years.

Only a few individuals, mostly in university positions or in social welfare, have not themselves taught young children. Their involvement in the field stems from experiences like these:

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[1] (cont. from page 109) We were able to secure information from 33 of these, 21 by questionnaire and 12 in interviews. Of the remainder, addresses could not be located for 5, 4 were identified as unable to respond (usually too old), and 11 failed to respond to both the original questionnaire and a follow-up. No differences are apparent between the group of respondents and those who failed to respond. (See Appendix D1.)

Profession of Education with emphasis on early childhood education; formerly high school English teacher, consultant in inter-group relations. Has been participating parent in cooperative nursery schools:

> My work has been primarily with students and teachers. I became interested in this field as the result of spending six years on the project Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, American Council on Education. My concern was to learn more about what early child-rearing practice and early experiences had to do with attitudes toward others and with development in human relations.
>
> I have stayed in it because I am increasingly aware of the research evidence on the importance of early education, because I like the people in the field, because it is less rigid and more concerned with human values than are some other levels of education, because it is a people-oriented area of concern in a depersonalizing society.

Professor of Child Development and Research Child Psychologist:

> My interest has been child development since my World War II experience in dealing with soldiers with personality problems. I've seen early childhood education as the best way of reaching large numbers of children and their families. I have been and still am convinced that the early years are critical. Families also need help in doing the fantastically big job of parenting.

While most of the leaders began by teaching young children because they cared about them, all have since gone on to influence adults -- through teacher education, parent education, supervision and consultation, organizational activities. One explains,

> Possibly, working with adults is of more importance to me than working with children. I believe I would find working with children relatively meaningless if I did not have opportunities to interact with adults about children . . .
>
> My current concerns center around the improvement of programs for young children. I know that this can only be partly accomplished by codes and regulations, but this is the point where I can make the most impact, I feel. This contribution is less important than that made by the teacher educator, or the person on the floor with the children, but I am hopeful that it can serve as an enabling role . . .

> I hope to see the credential accomplished. Next, I would like to see some drawing together of programs and funding . . . licensing regulations drawn together and strengthened. Most important of all, and the main reason I hope the above can be achieved, is that all kinds of programs for young children be good programs -- for the children, their parents, their staff, and their society. And you must admit that is quite a goal to hope to see accomplished. Therefore, I hope to teach others to learn how to act on behalf of children, to work after we are no longer working.

Most leaders, especially those with Master's degrees, have experienced considerable ease of movement among positions -- from teaching to supervision to public service, for example. Leadership has most commonly been exerted:

--through academic prominence together with availability to the professional organizations (as speaker, writer, usually officer as well);

--through hard work as an organizational officer over a number of years;

--through strategic public positions in which devotion has gone beyond the call of duty.

Leaders have gained their status mainly by influencing people such as teachers, legislators, administrators, and other policy-makers. The role of influencing policy-makers has been implemented both through activity in professional organizations, including lobbying and other mobilization for legislation, and in consultation to crisis-inspired programs (WPA and Lanham Act nurseries in the early years, Head Start in the last five years). Influence through publication, a common road to prominence in the academic disciplines, has been relatively unimportant. Publication is likely to gain increasing importance as the field becomes more academically based and as its membership increases; the geometric increase in the last few years stands to make it less possible in the future for everyone to know everyone else.

Teacher Education: The Role of the Colleges

It is as teacher educators that the majority of leaders in day care and nursery education have exerted their widest influence. Their status in the colleges as in the community has often been tenuous, since early childhood belongs to no single established academic discipline. As indicated in Table 4, leaders in the field may have been trained in education, home economics, social work, or occasionally psychology. Relatively few received their professional education in California, where neither education nor home economics traditions in the colleges have been supportive of programs for young children.

California teachers in early childhood programs have sought training in varied settings -- mostly outside the established four-year colleges and universities.

The Academic Establishment: No Room in the Inn

Higher education in California includes several noted universities, many independent liberal arts colleges, and an extensive system of state colleges originally established to train public school teachers but grown into large multi-purpose educational centers. In few of these settings have strong early childhood curricula been developed, though the late 1960's have seen some new growth. The reasons for the lack are generally clear.

The universities, which have in some instances conducted distinguished research in child development, have not included departmental emphasis on this field at the undergraduate level. Home economics, which has strongly sponsored the study of child development in many colleges and universities, lacks the established tradition in California that it holds in land-grant colleges in other parts of the country; it has been eliminated in recent years as a field of study at the two major campuses of the state university, though continuing strong on the agricultural campus.

The scope of departments of education, both in the universities and in the colleges, is commonly defined by the structure of public education, which most graduates enter. The strength of public kindergartens in the state and the inclusion of kindergarten teachers within the credential structure has led most departments of education training public school teachers to ignore children under five. Both a kindergarten-primary credential, for teachers of children 5 through 8, and a general elementary credential were offered until the early 1960's when a radical overhaul of the credential structure by the state legislature eliminated the kindergarten-primary credential. In 1969 legislative approval of an early childhood credential, including the nursery years, has finally encouraged the colleges to initiate interdisciplinary programs for teachers of young children. This action would not have occurred had Head Start and other compensatory education programs not been on the scene.

The insistence of early childhood professional organizations that the preparation of teachers of young children should be strongly interdisciplinary has perhaps been unstrategic from an academic vantage point. Establishment of an interdisciplinary program among the departmental vested interests of a college requires strong arguments for its academic importance and community need; nursery education has, until very recently, been able to provide neither. Only the new convergence of academic and political interest in early childhood has provided sufficient respectability, and sufficient jobs for qualified teachers of young children, to stimulate most of the colleges to revise their curricula in this direction.

Over the years several of the independent and state colleges have developed distinctive early childhood programs as a result of the initiative of one or two individual faculty members with special competence in this field. Campus laboratory nursery schools, established by departments of psychology or education to provide child study and/or teacher training experiences for students, have provided a focal point for such programs, but no guarantee of continuing innovative leadership in the field. Leadership has typically depended on an individual professor active in professional organizations and has lasted only as long as her tenure in the college. The college itself, with established objectives of liberal and professional education, has had no reason for continuing commitment to a marginal field.

Outside the Establishment: Teacher Training Opportunities

The anomalous professional status of early childhood education has opened the way for marginal higher education settings to take over most of the responsibility for teacher training. These settings include university extension services, public junior colleges, and independent specialized institutions, each of which has considerable flexibility in curriculum innovation to meet changing community needs. In California, these marginal settings have provided not only opportunity for teachers to acquire training, but also for leadership personnel to offer training and thus extend their influence as leaders. The majority of leaders in our sample have at some time taught courses in one or more of these settings.

University extension.

Courses for teachers of young children have been offered through the University of California Extension service for many years. Extension courses, while subject to approval by the university faculty, can be initiated on the basis of public demand and sustained as long as enrollment justifies. By the mid 1940's more than a dozen sections of four special courses -- growth and development in early childhood; play materials and procedures in the nursery school; the young child in home, school and community; and early childhood education -- were offered in the Los Angeles area alone.

Instruction of extension courses, which is typically combined on a part-time basis with other regular employment, has been an important role through which leadership is exerted. Both in the initiation of courses and in the regular influencing of teachers which takes place through instruction, leaders concerned with the direction of early childhood programs have made themselves felt. The proudest accomplishment of Education Extension in early childhood is its Core Program in Nursery Education, initiated in 1959 under the leadership of the then Head of Education Extension, in collaboration with the chief of early childhood education in the State Department of Education and in consultation with representatives of the various professional organizations, teacher education institutions, and the State Department of Social Welfare.

Like all education extension courses, this program is designed primarily as in-service training for working teachers. "Employment as a nursery school teacher, a teaching credential, or equivalent background is prerequisite to the program." Courses previously offered were systematized and supplemented to offer a planned program leading to a certificate of completion (originally based on 16 semester units). More recently a "Core II" was added to encourage teachers to undertake further in-service education. More than two dozen different courses are now offered.

Public junior colleges. Several junior colleges in the state have offered nursery school programs for more than twenty years. Such programs may include a campus laboratory nursery or may place students in community settings for work experience with college credit. Again, these pioneering programs usually reflect the efforts of a single individual, often though not always in home economics, who has built a program within the rather flexible curriculum structure of the junior college 2/. Such individuals have often been influential as leaders in the field, both in their own professional organization activities and through their training of teachers.

Most junior college programs have been built with the assistance or, in some cases, under the direction of professionals from different types of nurseries 3/. Where home economics faculty have been instrumental in designing nursery education programs, course work in general home economics and nutrition is included. Otherwise the basic course work in all such programs is generally similar, including child development, consideration of the relationships among the child's home-school-community environments, and nursery school principles and curriculum. Courses in administration and supervision are typically available as well, since a good many teachers will inevitably find themselves in charge of a program.

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[2] California Junior Colleges cannot legally offer professional courses in education, beyond a single introductory course; these are reserved for the four-year colleges. Nursery education, being outside the professional education structure, has offered a free field for junior college curriculum development, usually within the framework of the two-year "occupational curricula" not designed for students intending to transfer to a four-year college. This specialization may have the status of a separate department, usually in the division of social sciences, or may be included within course offerings in home economics, psychology, or sociology.

[3] For example, in one school district with a strong Children's Centers program, several day care supervisory personnel hold simultaneous faculty appointments in the junior college as part of their full-time positions in the district.

With the expansion of day care and nursery education many junior colleges have added curricula in this field; more than twenty in southern California now offer such courses. The shortage of persons possessing both a junior college teaching credential (which requires a Master's degree) and experience in nursery education has resulted in rather makeshift intructional arrangements in some institutions, such as "drafting" instructors in psychology or home economics to direct newly initiated programs.

> At Foothill City College, for example, the two year Nursery School Assistant curriculum was initiated by the work-study division of the college. Once developed by work-study, a program has to be assigned to a regular department of the college. The Nursery School program came to the chairman of the Department of Social Sciences, who delegated it to a psychology instructor in his department who was teaching both Child Psychology and a course developed on her own initiative, Observation in Child Psychology, which included nursery school observation. While she was no doubt the logical choice from the administrative point of view, she had been included in none of the planning and was understandably distressed by finding a new program dropped in her lap. The program eliminated her previous observation course and put her in charge of teaching Nursery School Principles, though she had had no nursery school teaching experience. It was not until the third year of the program that an experienced nursery school teacher with an M.A. degree could be found to teach and supervise in the program.

Some experienced nursery school directors are now seeking master's degrees with the goal of junior college teaching. Appropriate degree programs in California colleges and universities are hard for them to find, particularly since an M.A. in education is not an acceptable basis for a junior college credential.

Independent specialized colleges. In southern California two small specialized colleges which had similar community origins have assumed an influential role in early childhood teacher training. Pacific Oaks Friends School was begun in 1945 as a community education center and nursery school by a small group of Quaker families concerned with building a more peaceful world; the School for Nursery Years, in 1939, by a group of parents and psychoanalysts interested in applying analytic principles to the education of normal children. Each, faced with difficulty in recruiting teachers, set up its own in-service training program, which was soon extended to include teachers from other schools as well. Effective leadership in each school responded to community interest and developed strong professional competence in staff to a point which enabled each teacher education program to become accredited as a college 4/.

Convergence Toward Professionalization

The marginal nature of training programs for nursery teachers has caused programs for those teachers who wished to go on for full professional education, i.e., bachelor's degree and/or credential. Neither extension courses nor junior college vocational courses are readily transferable to a degree program. Some students who have completed a two-year junior college nursery school curriculum and then applied for admission to a four-year college have found that fully half their work would not be accepted for transfer. Independent specialized institutions, which have the potential for greater flexibility, themselves are faced with the necessity for conformity to conventional academic procedures in order to secure and maintain accreditation by the academic establishment.

Increasingly the gap is being bridged, although the career ladder is still missing some rungs. Some junior colleges offer the option of nursery education courses within a transfer curriculum, and counsel students in terms of the several options open to them. Preliminary guidelines for the new early childhood credential have recommended that four-year colleges give full credit for relevant course work taken in junior college programs, and several colleges have moved in this direction. Moreover, a number of colleges in the state are now establishing B.A. and M.A. programs in child development or early childhood education.

Can a Network Work?

Organizational Activity as a Channel for Leadership

As teacher educators in the colleges, most early childhood leadership personnel have been on their own, relatively isolated from other leaders, since few colleges have included more than one or two such specialists on their staffs. It is through organizations that the leaders have gotten together for mutual support. Organizational leadership has been one of the major bases for

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[4] Pacific Oaks (now Pacific Oaks College and Children's School) in 1959 became accredited as an upper-division college offering bachelor's degrees; School for Nursery Years (now Center for Early Education) in 1964 as a junior college. While each remains small, its influence is pervasive -- CEE particularly through its programs of extension courses and community consultation, Pacific Oaks through teacher education at upper-division and graduate levels.

exercise of professional influence, especially through organized impact on public policy.

Professional organizations. Several national professional organizations concerned with the care and education of young children have state and local affiliates in California. The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) is the most broadly representative of the organizations of nursery personnel. Its non-exclusive membership policy welcomes teachers and directors from all types of day nurseries and educational programs for young children, and other interested individuals as well; parents, students, and professionals from related fields may also join the organization 5/. The broad commitment of the early leaders in behalf of children and the scarcity of professional personnel combined to foster an open-door policy still in existence today.

What is now the California affiliate of NAEYC was independently established in the 1930's as the Pacific Coast Nursery Association, under the leadership of a pioneering private nursery director (a southern California association began as early as 1923). It offered a focus for organizing the common efforts of WPA nursery personnel, private nursery directors, teacher educators and others. This was the nursery schools' own organization. While some nursery personnel also held membership in other teachers' associations, they lacked status in them in the early years. For example, the Association for Childhood Education, ACE, made up largely of kindergarten teachers,

> looked down on us; we didn't have credentials, and we were stealing their thunder. There were empty rooms in public schools, and in them we had children playing with animals, getting dirty . . . We were challenged by teachers who had everything just so.

NAEYC's inclusive membership has kept it over considerable periods in the past from a unanimous stand on the professionalization of teachers, and Head Start members today keep such issues alive. However at present the

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5 In 1969-70, the 132 chapter officers, executive officers and committee chairmen of the Southern California Association were affiliated as follows:

Church and non-profit nurseries	34.8%
Proprietary nurseries	18.2
Children's Centers	9.8
Parent cooperative nurseries	7.6
Head Start	7.6
Not affiliated with a nursery (college faculty, students, salesmen, etc.)	21.8
	100.0%

California Association for the Education of Young Children (CAEYC) is in the forefront within the state on efforts to raise standards for program and personnel. It puts out a legislative bulletin and works actively to influence any legislation relating to early childhood programs.

The Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI) is an older organization which is for the most part dominated by public school personnel concerned with kindergarten and primary grades. Continuing efforts at communication made by nursery personnel have been fruitful; ACEI now has a section on nursery education, and it has made position statements about qualifications for teachers of pre-kindergarten children. (In taking a clearly professional position, it preceded NAEYC.) Its California affiliate cooperates with CAEYC, and members of the latter automatically become members of CACE. However, although nursery leadership personnel have made an active effort to participate, few rank-and-file nursery teachers are active in this organization 6/.

The Child Welfare League, a national social work organization, has formulated the most comprehensive standards available for day care and has been concerned with such programs for many years. In California some old-time non-profit agencies sponsoring day care belong to the League, which does not, however, play an active role in day care within the state. Except for the licensing function, the field of social work has not had much impact on the leadership network which has identified much more closely with education as its professional discipline.

All the above organizations are professional in orientation and predominantly female in their leadership at the state and local level. In these respects, they differ from (and in practice sometimes actively oppose, on crucial issues) some of the organizations described below.

Special interest and trade organizations. The other nursery organizations in California have purposes and membership specialized by type of center; some have individual memberships, while others are composed of groups of nurseries. Most were founded during the decade following World War II. They include the Pre-School Association of California (PSA), a statewide group of private day nurseries; the Council of Parent Participation Nursery Schools, also statewide; the Los Angeles County Federation of Nursery School Teachers (now an American Federation of Teachers local, but founded in 1949 as the Pre-School Division of a local of Service and Maintenance Employees; this union originally drew most of its membership from teachers in parent cooperatives, but it now represents a number of Head Start personnel as well), and the statewide organizations for teachers, for directors and supervisors, and for parents in the public

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[6] In 1970 CAEYC and CACE held their annual conferences on the same weekend in different cities.

Children's Centers. Most recently several organizations of church nurseries, both Protestant and Jewish, have been established. An association of Montessori schools has also become active.

These organizations, like the more inclusive professional groups, serve several functions. They provide interaction, in-service education through workshops, conferences, and publications, and a sense of identity for their members. They also work to influence public policy, through activities ranging from such public relations ideas as Nursery Education Week to systematic efforts to influence legislation. In their policy-influencing role, the organizations do not present a consistently united front. On the several issues upon which organizations have taken stands, the different organizations not infrequently oppose each other.

The special interest groups tend to have primary interest in legislation affecting them particularly. In addition, some of their members are active in the professional organizations. The group most effective in the legislative arena is the Pre-School Association. This organization represents The Enemy to many professional leaders, since it strongly opposes CAEYC on some issues. Business-oriented, and with its principal officers male, PSA favors those policies which promote a good climate for the operation of private preschools. With CAEYC, it favors (though less ardently) educational qualifications for nursery directors; unlike CAEYC, it opposes, as unrealistic, such standards for teachers. It favors requirements for licensing where these concern certain physical plant standards and proof of financial stability, but it opposes requirements for low adult-child ratios as well as any efforts to raise the minimum age of two years for children in group day care. The following notes from a public hearing of the State Department of Social Welfare illustrate some of the approaches taken by organizations seeking to influence public policy.

Pulling and Pushing: Notes from a Public Hearing

While many efforts to influence policy are carried on behind the scenes, through correspondence and similar means, the factions have the opportunity from time to time to confront each other at public hearings. Such a hearing, on proposed changes in the State Department of Social Welfare regulations governing licensed day nurseries, was held by the state director of the Department in December, 1969. Sacramento, the state capital, is the usual location for hearings but the director commented that "strong interest" had prompted their scheduling in Los Angeles, the state's major population concentration and location of the greater number of its day nurseries.

Controversial items in the regulations dealt with 1) educational requirements for teaching staff, 2) adult-child ratios, 3) working capital required to secure licensing. Selections from the testimony follow:

Director of Preschool and Compensatory Education, State Department of Education:

> We endorse these proposals wholeheartedly. They will bring requirements closer to those of the State Department of Education. For the first time, Department of Social Welfare standards approximate the standards of the State Department of Education for preschool programs in Children's Centers.

Representative of state social workers' organization:

> We congratulate the Department of Social Welfare on clarification of details, improving standards, providing for teacher aides. People from middle and upper classes will now be able to benefit from programs formerly benefitting lower income groups. (Note: the drama now begins to unfold, in the best tradition of the theatre!)

Attorney for Montessori Schools:

> Technically, I represent no group; I'm speaking for myself and I'm opposed to the regulations. I am of the opinion that impetus for these changes comes as a result of federal legislation (social security). California would like to avail itself of federal funding opportunities, but schools started and maintained by private initiative should not be scuttled because of attention to these high requirements.
>
> The section relating to funding demands money in advance. A business can't get started that way even on borrowed capital. This hits the schools with the highest payrolls, like Montessori. These sections bother me the most. They attempt to define who is and who is not a director or teacher aide, but the terms are not defined. What is "Early Childhood Education"? Someone once facetiously said, "It's anyone who has been to nursery school!". This clause could disqualify the holder of a doctorate, a degree from another country, etc. Our schools exist in opposition to many theories in early childhood education. It would be hard on us (the Montessori Schools) to get teachers and send them back to school.
>
> Good teachers can't be counted in ratios, etc. Terms are not defined. From a lawyer's standpoint these sections are not carefully written. They leave too much to the discretion of the Department. The regulations are written for babysitting organizations. They are not fair to us. They are

not written with the existence of private schools in mind. You are talking about broad property rights which will be affected. Thousands of teachers, children, etc., will be affected. Is this an insidious attempt? Well, no, I'm sure it is in good faith, but written without us in mind at all. We have had inadequate notice. The Department of Social Welfare has made the barest minimum effort to meet notice requirements.

Licensing Supervisor, State Department of Social Welfare:

These requirements are not concerned with the Office of Economic Opportunity or social security. They were begun long before those programs were approved.

Director, State Department of Social Welfare:

We did not take note of your organization. We'll push the closing date up to February 1. Please submit to us your recommendations for a substitute approach.

President, Montessori Educational Association:

We will create a committee to make recommendations. There are certain points we feel very strongly about. The Montessori method is a non-tax supported system of private schools. We prescribe a course of study for teachers based on Dr. Montessori's research. It is clearly documented, well defined, and available through training centers. Our requirements far exceed the recommendations here. The Department of Social Welfare does not have the right to infringe on the type of education provided in these schools. Montessori ideas are diluted and diverted in early childhood education courses. We want our freedom to determine what we want to teach and we want our autonomy preserved. We differ from ordinary child care facilities and educational institutions. Some Montessori schools are increasing the ages of children enrolled up to seven or eight or nine, and we don't think it realistic to be burdened with these regulations for young children. The Wisconsin and Oregon Departments of Social Welfare no longer regulate Montessori schools.

The Montessori Educational Association is an organization begun several months ago to upgrade and evenly apply our own standards. You are attempting to upgrade something our schools are not concerned with. People trying to start new Montessori schools have been told by licensing workers that these regulations are already in effect and that they must conform. We will now demonstrate our capability to handle our own affairs.

University Professor of Psychology and head of laboratory nursery, representing a task force set up by the State Social Welfare Board to work on day care services:

> We made a report to the State Department of Social Welfare on ways of preventing disorders leading to welfare dependency. This study dealt with ways to prevent the cycle of dependency. Our conclusion is that society does much repair work but prevention must occur in early years. Child care has a broader and wider scope than social welfare. It must include provisions for education and health. Any day care services must take this into account. Competencies of staff must be considered no matter how high we make standards; they can never be high enough. Laws alone never will bring about this effect.

Representative of CAEYC and co-member of task force:

> All licensed facilities have received at least one invitation to discuss this with the Department of Social Welfare staff. The time to implement recommendations is now. These are reasonable steps. The Department has sufficient flexibility to administer regulations, to benefit all through equivalency clauses, etc. The goal is to provide better qualified personnel. Many licensed day nurseries are comparatively unsupervised. This will develop professionalism in directors and staff. Quality of program is dependent on training these people. Group programs are not merely an extension of social welfare programs. Preschool teaching is a highly skilled job.
>
> We are spending so much money on remedial programs; we must give attention to preventive programs. These regulations are not limiting. The state regulates a number of occupations. This is a step in development of new careers for the poor. These requirements are essential to avoid abuses by some private owners.

Chairman of the Board of Directors of Escuela de Montessori:

> We have 205 children. Our annual budget is $250,000. There is a need for distinction between day care centers and educational institutions. Ours is a well-publicized, thought-out curriculum plan, not a patchwork program. We have a coherent educational program for children from the age three all the way up. We have several national and international organizations; a national Montessori organization based in New York and the American Montessori International which is an international organization. Both organizations serve a policing function. An applicant must take a course of study, then he is required to serve an internship, then he takes a written exam. There exists within the organization a means of policing the profession which does not need outside regulation.

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Director, Department of Social Welfare:

The Department of Social Welfare is not trying to get into the area presided over by the Department of Education.

Montessori school parent (four children):

The Department of Social Welfare attitude disturbs me. They appear to be feeling an overwhelming concern for children of the state who are not theirs. These regulations are depriving us parents of the right to educate children the way we want. These welfare people are forcing us to give up this right. This is effectively putting Montessori schools out of business by requiring advance funding, etc. Legislation poses a threat to this right of parents [7].

Representative from Escuela de Montessori:

(Sarcasm dripping from each syllable) How many Montessori graduates are on welfare rolls?

Director of a Montessori School:

References to teacher's aides and volunteers are couched in ambiguous words, etc. The regulations would make the cost of running Montessori schools much higher. We can't afford to have aides on a one to ten ratio. The average income of our families is six to eight thousand dollars a year. (The witness quotes statements to indicate that goals and standards imposed from the outside doom programs to failure.) We have established and developed more flexible standards. One paid adult to ten children is unrealistic and too expensive. The requirements for assistant teachers are too stringent.

We are not day nurseries! Our budget is $400,000 a year. We couldn't have funds on hand for a six months operation every time we applied for a license. What is the purpose of the regulations? If the purpose is to avoid welfare dependency, Montessori schools don't fall under this category.

Director, Department of Social Welfare:

Our responsibility is for the care and welfare of children. This goes beyond the lower income groups.

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[7] A burst of applause from audience. Impressions from observing who clapped for whom, would indicate these totals for the cheering sections -- Montessori, 1/2 to nearly 2/3; PSA, 1/3; CAEYC, etc., definitely minority.

Representative, California Pre-School Association:

There are 200 private schools in the Los Angeles area with 10,000 youngsters in attendance. Department of Social Welfare needs to insert hardship clauses in the funding and licensing requirement regulations, and to take an honest look at the ten to one ratio. Value judgmentsare the only thing which support this ratio and they are unrealistic. For four-year-olds it is not realistic. One to fifteen is more so. For three-year-olds a ten to one ratio is O.k.

The requirements for teacher aides needs clarification; it is not consistent with what is happening in child care institutions in public schools. Private schools have provided education and care long before public programs. Private enterprise in education is a big business. It is not evil to make a profit. Business only grows and prospers if it can raise capital and do research. Private school business is not extracting huge profits. Reducing the existing pupil-teacher ratio can only put us out of business. (applause)

Representative, California Pre-School Association:

The creation of an assistant director position is unnecessary. It does not mean anything; it is not needed in most schools; there is not that much work to be done. The teacher-child ratio is not feasible. We have had a ratio of one to ten in all the years I have been in business, but now costs make it impossible. We want to be able to include the fantastic new equipment now available. With the advent of Head Start the market for preschool teachers is nil.

Past President, Southern California AEYC:

There are too many minutiae -- Too many details should not be added. We need creativity, innovation. There is no flexibility allowed if it is too detailed. A welfare worker needs to be educated and experienced. She should be allowed room for judgment and professional decision making. She doesn't need to be a professional social worker to check a set of detailed rules.

Legislative representative, CAEYC:

To provide sound educational experiences for children at any age requires an understanding of how young children grow and learn, and a knowledge of the effect of different kinds of environments on the growth and learning process. It also requires that both parents and educators -- namely those working with young children -- think about and decide what goals they have for young children. Then they must choose the kind of environment that will enable those goals to be realized. A child placed in any group situation is in effect in an educational environment - good or bad, dependent on one's assessment of it in terms of one's goals for children. The environment consists not only of its physical properties but also of its human properties. Of these two - the human properties or the people in the environment are probably the most important. The teacher is the key person in a child's school world. The teacher-child relationship and the parent-teacher relationship are the most significant factors in the growth of the child in a group situation. The teacher's personal qualities, his understanding and acceptance of the child and his parents, his knowledge of how to use the physical and social environment to help that child and his parents develop their own unique potentials are what determines what happens to that child. Therefore it would seem imperative that if the state licenses day nurseries - they should be as concerned about the staff as about the financial or physical properties of the school. It is to implement this crucial and justifiable concern that the State Department of Social Welfare proposes to include staff standards in its regulations.

Representative, California Pre-School Association:

We recommend a teacher ratio of 1 to 10 children for two years of age, 1 to 12 children for three years of age and 1 to 15 children for four years and over. There are economic considerations, of course, but it is not necessarily important to surround children with adults. During the Montessori orde--- I mean discussion 8/, importance to have trained teachers was emphasized but it is not necessary to have children surrounded by "warm bodies". We are anxious to eliminate bad schools. If they belong(ed) to our association we will be happy to cooperate with you in eliminating them.

Representative, organization of non-profit, religiously-oriented schools:

There has been an appeal to exempt Montessori schools. If this is done, then we should be exempt too. These regulations should not be imposed on either Montessori schools or religious sponsored schools. The Department of Social Welfare has a philosophy of preschool education that is little more than a

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[8] This appeared to be a subtle attempt - which the audience quickly caught! - to register exasperation with the amount of time Montessori took up in the hearings.

child-care program. Our schools are more than just babysitting programs. Our schools are educationally-oriented, academically-planned up to grade eight. The attitude among Department of Social Welfare workers is that if a school is showing profit then it is motivated by profit and by monetary reasons. I recently asked a licensing worker some questions concerning a problem if I and another person started another school and her answer was "You're finding this quite a lucrative business, aren't you?" I don't think this is the prerogative of any Department of Social Welfare worker. I think the nursery school is a justifiable business venture.

Director, Department of Social Welfare:

If you have complaints with respect to department procedures, this should be discussed elsewhere. Have you specific comments with respect to proposed items?

Representative, organization of non-profit, religiously-oriented schools:

Yes, these regulations cause economic burdens. It's putting the squeeze on private, non-profit schools. The definition of Early Childhood Education is staid and arbitrary. There are many excellent teachers who cannot possibly meet qualifications set forth by the requirements. Teachers have courses given under the auspices of the church "perpetual in-service training" might fulfill requirements rather than "units".

Man representing the Pre-School Association:

Let the parents have a voice. If the parents are happy, then the school must be good. Regulations stifle free enterprise. We are all in favor of up-grading qualifications of teachers, but it's too hard to hire people. The teacher-child ratio provides the biggest objection. Our two very best teachers have never gone to college. We have had to dismiss some who have gone to college, who had degrees, but who weren't good teachers. A formal education is not necessarily a criterion.

Another Pre-School Association representative:

These regulations are an infringement on the rights of the individual by the Department of Social Welfare. The only authority the Department of Social Welfare has is in the area of health and safety. Education and academic qualifications are not in the purview of their department. The Department of Social Welfare is a "totalitarian force" destroying free enterprise. Our best teachers are eighteen to

> twenty-five years old. The nursery school fills the emotional needs of teachers. Older teachers are sharp with children. They won't take direction. The preschool is getting rejects from other professions. Requirements and regulations in academic areas are reducing the private schools to level of mediocrity.
>
> State colleges are pushing courses to line their own pockets. Such activities should be prohibited. State colleges are lobbying for higher standards to feather their own nests. The Department ofSocial Welfare is creating a facade for their own empire building. The over-burdened taxpayer is supporting all this. . . .

Factions in the Network: Who Pulls Together When

Day care organizations share the goal of improving quality in day care programs. They differ, however, in their choice of priorities for accomplishing the goal. Private school owners faced with the constraints of operating a day care center as a business without the assistance provided by either tax relief or public or charitable subsidy, tend to define program quality in terms of its most visible aspects: adequacy of plant and equipment. This is clearly a realistic adaptation. To operate, private centers must attract parents. Parents seeking full-day care are rarely sophisticated consumers; they want "good" care but have a limited conception of what this entails. They tend to inquire abouts costs and to form a general impression from the appearance of the center; few ask about teacher qualifications. Private owners must, therefore, keep fees down and create an immediate favorable impression. Attractive, well-planned facilities serve this latter purpose and also contribute, as we have found, to quality of program. The alternative of increasing teachers' professional qualifications is a less useful emphasis for center owners; it is a less visible asset and it entails commitment to increased salaries, which are an expense with no depreciation allowances. Further, day care owners themselves are not typically identified with the type of credential and professional education career ladder which characterizes public education ; they often work most effectively with staff members who are loyal, love children, and share the values of the owner and his clientele. It is noteworthy that in most private centers, parents and teachers are in substantial consensus on child-rearing values 9/. Because of this congruence, establishing

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9 Professionally educated teachers are more likely to be "permissive" or "progressive" in their approach to child rearing than are the majority of day care parents. This discrepancy is particularly apparent in public centers, where parents tend to be low in socioeconomic status and teachers tend to be relatively highly trained. (For further data see Prescott, 1965.)

relationships with parents may be much simpler and require less sophistication in private centers.

Owners of private nurseries tend to be sensitive about their "profit-making" status; they have no difficulty in justifying it to themselves but feel themselves criticized by social workers and professional educators identified with public agencies. In reality nurseries are not highly profitable businesses; the owner of a successful nursery makes an adequate living, somewhat more on the average than his bureaucratic counterpart, the head teacher in a public center of comparable size, but his responsibility is a good deal more inclusive. Probably only the entrepreneurs who establish chains of successful nurseries, and these are few, make a more than adequate income. There are far more owners with marginal nurseries which barely provide them with a living.

Owners value their independence and their autonomy in moving swiftly to meet community needs. Most of the large population of families they serve has ready access to no other type of care.

With some notable exceptions (some of whom have been labeled "the university clique" in Pre-School Association, and most of whom are more active in professional organizations than in PSA), private owners tend to be a conservative influence on several fronts: in curriculum and instruction for children, in the extent to which they value professional education for teachers, and in their attitude toward public support of day care. Representatives of Pre-School Association are relatively lacking in influence among professional leaders in the field; however they have worked hard at organization and have made their point of view clearly heard at legislative hearings and on day care advisory committees. It is usually a defensive point of view, ranged against the big guns of the professional educators who take the initiative in working for expanded public programs and higher standards. Head Start has introduced an interesting third force into the dialog.

Although Head Start is not ordinarily competitive with private day nurseries, its advent was least welcomed by this group of owners. Most of the professional educators regarded it as a realization of many of their concerns for young children, and many were actively involved from the outset. Private owners were less favorable for two reasons; first, as small operators they tend to be politically conservative, skeptical of the encroachments of the federal government; second, they saw Head Start centers starting at physical sites which failed to meet the established standards for group programs for young children. Quality of physical facilities, demanded of private nursery owners by licensing regulations, has become their primary criterion for excellence of care. They, therefore, opposed the opening of Head Start centers in substandard facilities.

More recently, Head Start community representatives have provided allies for Pre-School Association representatives in hearings concerning the raising of educational standards for teachers. Like private directors, Head Start representatives are likely to be less educated themselves and less identified with academic programs. Further, both are less likely to have the active commitment to "all children" which has characterized many of the professionally oriented leaders. Private directors tend to focus their attention on the middle-class families who can pay for care, and to be skeptical of tax-supported programs for the disadvantaged. Head Start representatives, especially those identified with black and brown separatists movements, may be at least as concerned with their communities as a whole as with children as such, and are likely to reject identification with white middle-class nursery schools and families.

As the notes from the hearing show, additional allies have come from other special-interest groups representing certain types of non-profit schools with distinct educational philosophies. Both Montessori schools and some church nurseries demand specialized training for their teachers outside the standard college offerings, and define their purpose as education (with day care only incidental). They claim the right to pursue their unique goals for a selected clientele.

In contrast, professional leaders have emphatically been committed to "all children". For many, the choice among public day care or church nursery, parent education or teacher training, has been accidental and incidental. Somewhere in the course of their lives, early or later, they have found personal fulfillment and community service in teaching young children and parents. Conviction that "the good life begins with little children" has kept them motivated and active, some in one job setting, others in a wide variety.

Strategies for Effective Leadership

Twenty-five Years in Ocean View: A Study in Individual Effectiveness

One individual who has been effectively concerned for a quarter century with "all children" is Mrs. M., Children's Centers Supervisor in Ocean View. Working with parents, teachers, school district, and community, she has established an exemplary day care program in which varied resources are utilized to meet the needs of children. It is evident that she has developed effective strategies for accomplishing program goals, and she is articulate about explaining them.

The strength of the Ocean View Children's Center lies in the success which Mrs. M. has achieved in tying her program in with that of the school district, without losing the capability to innovate or compromising the principles of early childhood education which have guided her and her colleagues from the beginning. The commitment to a common goal has resulted in an integrated program in which the Children's Centers are considered an essential part of school services, for which the district is willing to "go to bat".

Over the years Mrs. M. has developed a plan of action which has provided highly effective strategies for overcoming environmental pressures, the greatest of which relate to both state and local funding but which also include attitudinal components; e.g., the common assumption that public child care is custodial, with no awareness of what preschool programs "are all about".

> I don't think this district ever made an appeal on an indigent, emotional basis but on the premise: "These are people, they need opportunity". We minimized the "sob story"; from the beginning we emphasized early education as a preparation for other things, that we were providing not only care and guidance but also learning experiences. For this reason we've never been in the position of starting one way (i.e., care for children of indigent parents) and then having to change. Our arguments have always been: the immediate cost is expensive but the long-range goal inexpensive. Our focus is 1) that the individual becomes a contributing member of the community and 2) that the child is off the street, with added educational services. We really implied that if children are going to learn they must be well nourished socially and emotionally. All the staff and all five superintendents, over the years, have been supportive of this idea. When the administration became supportive, it was accepted by everyone because part of the mores of the district is that you should like child care.

Building this level of support requires constant attention to communication -- within the school hierarchy, with teaching staff and parents, and in the community at all levels. Mrs. M. does not wait until people request information about the Centers; she answers questions before the thought occurs to ask them. She told of introducing herself to a new administrator in the district who promptly notified her that he did not approve of the child care program. She responded by saying that she would like to get acquainted and invited him over so that "at least he would know first hand what they were doing". On the day of his arrival she pointed out another group visiting the Center and told him how they knew nothing about early childhood education so that she had had to explain to them about block play and its relationship to arithmetic, the experience with animals and dramatic play as precursors of reading, etc. He nodded knowingly, toured the Center with great interest, and was never known to criticize the program again. Over the years, her perception of individual and institutional needs has become acute. She has learned that people have different ideas on compromise, that they are constrained to act according to the dictates of their roles, and that another vantage point seldom gives a perspective identical to one's own.

Public relations strategies are important. Substitution of acceptable labels for loaded words ("In this city we don't say 'mental health', we say 'consultation services'" explains Mrs. M., who has been able to secure excellent psychiatric consultation on children for her day care staff) facilitates communication with community members of varying persuasions. Mrs. M. sees no value in arousing unnecessary fear and always looks for the non-threatening tactic.

Before a new Center was built four years ago she personally rang doorbells at nearly every house in the neighborhood in an interpretive program to establish support from the residents and let them know what was happening and why. Everyone was invited to visit the new school when it was completed. As a result of the campaign, the community welcomed the new addition 10/. There is no problem with vandalism in the neighborhood -- whose socioeconomic level makes it potentially a trouble spot -- because "the neighborhood respects the fact that the district cared enough to put a nice building like this here; there's a feeling of pride".

Mrs. M., in her holistic approach to child care, sees the support and involvement of all age groups, and particularly that of the parents, as being essential to fostering child growth and development. Gaining the support and understanding of families is the foundation upon which programs in Ocean View, and other successful districts, is built. They learn about the program by spending most of the first day in the Center with their child. Parents are an essential part of Center life. Groups regularly meet at 5:30 P.M., along with teachers, supervisors, and children, for an informal dinner in the Centers. Mrs. M. consistently provides the guidance and "caring" which have brought the parents' group in Ocean View, one of the most active in the statewide Children's Centers Parents Association, to recognize her as a devoted friend and counselor.

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[10] This strategy was particularly effective in avoiding the potentially hostile feelings of immediate neighbors toward the location of the Center. By means of personal contact the owner of five rental properties bordering on the site for the proposed Center was convinced, and in turn convinced his tenants, of the value of the new facility.

Mrs. M. has developed a pattern of interaction both within the community and the district which consists of a maze of inter-connected formal and informal, lay and professional, administrative and teaching relationships [11]. Since her status in the school district is equal to that of the other seven directors in the administrative hierarchy, as well as to that of the elementary principals, she can communicate freely and effectively with all the other levels in the system, including that of superintendent and the apparently crucial one of assistant superintendent in charge of business. Mrs. M. is directly responsible to the superintendent and meets with him frequently, as well as with other supervisors, including the curriculum supervisor.

This pattern of communication extends into the Centers. Once a month she meets with staff in each of the four Centers, once a month with head teachers of all the Centers together, and three times a year with all staff together. Of the latter meeting, forty minutes is spent with Centers meeting separately, and the rest of the time together for policy changes and "common agreement on issues". Forty percent of Mrs. M's time is spent in actual working time with staff. The remaining sixty percent involves budget meetings, employee interviewing, cafeteria purchasing, and other administrative tasks.

In spite of the importance of reaching people in key decision-making positions, the need to communicate the value of the Center program to people at all levels is deeply felt by Mrs. M. Visiting one day, we observed a plumber who had been called to one of the Centers to fix a leaking pipe. All morning, the children were encouraged to gather around to observe him work. As he was leaving, Mrs. M. inquired what the trouble had been; his comments prompted her to request that he explain it to one of the children who had been fascinated with the repair process. The man, astounded and pleased to be considered a "teacher", happily complied, was escorted into a room of children just awakening from nap time to give his explanation, and finally departed, no doubt another convert to the program.

Mrs. M's goal over the years has been an inter-disciplinary approach to provision of services; with the support of the Board of Education ("it's taken 26 years!") and the district administration she has succeeded in coordinating Children's Center functions (which she sees as covering a considerably wider range than those in some districts) with those of myriad school departments and community agencies. The school district in Ocean View, due in large part to Mrs. M's efforts, has come to envision preschool experiences as an essential part of the ongoing education process. Mrs. M. took an active role in encouraging emphasis on child development and family life in the curriculum which linked the public school program to that of the Centers 12/. To this end she expanded interest in a student-connected program which involved junior high pupils enrolled in home-making courses in working with the children in the child care program. When a new Center was built recently 13/ it was located on property adjacent to the junior high school. The advantages of this location, as opposed to the traditional placement next to the elementary school, lay in the ease with which the junior high home-making students could participate in the Children's Centers program as teacher aides, thereby adding to the learning experiences of both the young children and the adolescents. When the latter are not actively engaged in working with the preschoolers, they can observe them, as can parents, through the one-way viewing windows strategically placed in the corridors.

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[11] One-fifth of Mrs. M's time is devoted to teaching at Ocean View City College, four-fifths to the Centers.

The integration of preschool and school-age program has been the result of Mrs. M's perception of the need to involve all sectors of the community and the school district in the Children's Center program. To facilitate the coordination she was instrumental in bringing about the hiring by the district of a coordinator to meld the home-making curriculum with Center activities. Mrs. M. has worked closely with this coordinator, Miss V. since the days of the Lanham Act nurseries 14/ and together they have succeeded in bringing about a family-life orientation in the home economics curriculum: "It wasn't easy; many home-making teachers felt threatened. It took the retirement of many of the older teachers, and the willingness of newer ones to accept the idea" 15/. Miss V. is employed by the school district and technically provides services to the secondary level, but the benefits to the preschool program are clearly considered a worthwhile investment by the district.

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[12] Ocean View has officially entitled its child care facilities "child-development centers".

[13] The Center was built with funds derived from a special district Children's Center tax and was designed according to the specifications of Mrs. M. in conjunction with staff recommendations.

[14] Miss V., having sworn that she would never have anything to do with public child care, worked in private preschools until she met the superintendent of the Ocean View district at a party. He persuaded her to work in the Centers, which she did until she left for a consultant position with the State Department of Education, returning to Ocean View some years later.

[15] Miss V. helped to revise a guide for observing children in use since publication in 1935, advocating a quantitative research approach which specified, among other items, counting the number of times a child moved his arms and/or legs and the precise tempo of each movement.

Autonomy and size are two of the crucial factors in getting and keeping good program. If you want to innovate, "you can't change by issuing orders from the top, but by getting freedom from the superintendent (or whoever occupies the position of immediate supervisor in the school hierarchy) 16/. Achieving a degree of autonomy is essential!" She reflects on the methods of the Directors and Supervisors Association -- as well as the old WPA nurseries -- by pointing out, in answer to how one secures administrative competence: "You do it by example. People don't need to understand the whole rationale for what you're doing, but if they see it work, they can begin to try it for themselves. There is a style that can be communicated, but you must believe in it." The setting up of a demonstration Center as Ocean View and other districts in California have done, is an effective technique which offers pragmatic proof of theories which Mrs. M. and her co-workers see as important.

Concerning size, she states:

> The district is a good place to teach in, but it wouldn't be if it were two or three times larger -- unless it were decentralized 17/ I think I could still administer one or two more Centers and program would still be personalized. It takes good head teachers and good communications. Any more, and I'd lose contact with children and personal contact with staff 18/. We deliberately limit the size of

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[16] In response to a question as to how she would implement change in a district where program has been consistently mediocre, she said that first she would insist on autonomy and get her supervisor's assurance of non-interference. Then she would ask for teacher volunteers to develop the types of program she wanted in one Center. She felt confident that once the model Center was working and could be seen by other teachers, change would gradually become possible.

[17] The city of Ocean View has approximately 100,000 population. Mrs. M. administers four Children's Centers, two of them nurseries only and two including extended day care. The nurseries have 36 children each; the largest extended day care center serves 80 school-age children.

[18] Mrs. M. believes "on-site" leadership is essential to good program; her office is located in one of the Centers, rather than in the school administration building. "Staff relationship means a working relationship, that the Director is working, is involved. . . and physically present." The effects of dilution of commitment through size of organization becomes clear when the problems of Children's Centers in large local districts are analyzed. Where both the number of Centers and the number of administrative departments in the school system to which it must relate (continued on next page).

> individual Centers. A smaller Center is better for the school-age child, too. The physical size of the Center counts, not only the size of the group; 80 children are 80 children. Thirty-five to forty is the best number (of children) to have in any one Center. When funds are limited, unfortunately, they think of combining Centers.

Mrs. M. has supplemented and supported her leadership in her school district by active participation in professional organizations, and has promoted organizational participation by her teaching staff and by parents. As a leader in the California Children's Centers Directors and Supervisors Association and an active member and one-time national officer of the Association for the Education of Young Children, she has contributed to legislative efforts, to teacher education, and to her own authority in her school district as based on professional prestige. Her strategies for excellence in day care, like those of other effective leaders, may well be instructive to others asking "how to do it".

How To Do It: A Strategic Summary

The missionary zeal of leaders concerned with programs for young children and families has rarely wavered. The roots of their commitment are many -- personal needs for a career compatible with family life, conviction that healthy and productive adulthood depends on early childhood experience, identification with the cause of emancipated womanhood, sheer delight in little children -- and its fruits have been great. A sense of pioneering has led both professionals and volunteers to efforts far beyond the call of duty, seeking to implement an ideology which, while crystal clear to them, was for many years regarded with skepticism, if regarded at all, by leaders in other fields.

How did they do it? Their accomplishments appear to stem from three modes of action -- communication with anyone who would listen, mobilization of all available support, and negotiation with potential or inevitable opponents.

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[18] (Con't) have become so large as to become unwieldy, the quality of program apparently suffers. The tenure, over a long period of time, of a leadership cadre deeply committed to the goals of early childhood education can offset the pressures of size, but in general, decentralization is considered by most long-time participant observers to be the only solution to the problems of over-extension.

Communication. A basic principle is that no one is too unimportant or important to interpret program to. Neighbors, custodians [19], repairmen, may be important contributors to daily program and, in the long run, to public support for day care. Determined supervisors have toured legislators and school superintendents through day care centers and made some permanent and influential friends in the process. Supervisors in public day care make particular efforts to maintain good relationships with elementary school principals, with whom they may share facilities and who are their nearest peers within the district hierarchy. As one supervisor of a Center on elementary school grounds explains, "I'm not responsible to the principal but in practice I make it my business to be responsible to the principal". In like manner, effective leaders within the Departmentsof Social Welfare and Education have always cultivated public support through speaking engagements and prompt responses to requests for information. Within the state departments they have continually circulated information about their own program and generously shared information which might be of interest to other department members to keep them informed and to forestall potential trouble.

The demonstration of good day care in action communicates much more powerfully than words. Visitors can see effective supervisors who have been able to secure reasonable freedom of action for themselves, which they pass on to teachers. At the same time supervisors pay attention to teachers, as they expect teachers to do to children. The supervisor is active without being threatening; she doesn't argue with people, doesn't push or over-sell, but her concern for good care is consistently apparent, and contagious.

Mobilization of pressure groups. The most important groups pressing for public support of day care have been day care parents, organizations of educated women, and the teachers and administrators themselves. The Children's Centers Parents' Association was a crucial pressure group in the continuation of public day care in California. The professional and trade organizations have provided the most consistent influence; several organizations invest substantial time and effort in legislative and public relations activity. In this instance the efforts of the leaders involve not only public outreach, but also recruitment of more leaders from among teachers of young children.

Over the years these networks of pressure groups have learned effective techniques for applying pressure. A few phone calls can procure a delegation to appear before legislative committees, and a newsletter can elicit a flow of letters to politicians.

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[19] "If the custodian protests that he knows nothing about children, you teach him!"

Negotiation with opponents. An outstanding characteristic of leaders in early childhood education has been their capacity to deal with opposition in a realistic and accepting manner. Time and again, in discussing opposition, our informants have made it clear that a particular action was necessary or inevitable and was not to be taken personally. These leaders have taken for granted the integrity of their opponents and have looked for areas in which agreement could be reached. Furthermore, they have recognized that it takes time and a great deal of spadework to realize even modest objectives.

CHAPTER VII

THE PUDDLE IS GROWING: DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Early childhood as a field has been characterized above all by flexibility; anyone who cared and would work could be part of it. It seems likely that the flexibility of the field is changing as child development and early education grow in academic recognition, as the number of positions expands radically, and as more men enter an active role (particularly in the universities and in Head Start) 1/. With a firmer institutional base go less flexibility, less intimacy, and less need to utilize every committed warm body to the fullest. The attacks on "traditional nursery education" within the current debate on learning and instruction in early childhood are symptomatic. The attackers tend to be identified with "hard-nosed" research psychology and to be male. Their targets are the little old ladies of nursery education and day care, who are accused of being sentimental about children and fuzzy-minded about education. In a transition period, the old-time leaders are being strongly challenged to be articulate about their methods and goals, and to do so in a new context of stress on cognitive development.

Additional pressures come from the enormous increase in populatiry of early childhood programs, both nursery school and day care. Not only has the importance of early learning suddenly become an article of faith even among political leaders 2/, but day care as a means to foster career

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[1] Only the Pre-School Association, representing private nursery owners, has been male-dominated in the past. Its leadership has frequently been in conflict with the idealistic ladies from the public centers and the colleges, who fail to appreciate the realities of private enterprise and, besides, indulge children.

On the other hand, some women in the field occasionally express active suspicion of men seeking entry, particularly as day nursery proprietors. Their implication seems to be, what normal man would choose to take care of little children? This view seems clearly in the minority; most leaders have actively sought the involvement of men, and the proportion of men elected as professional association officers vastly exceeds that in the field as a whole.

> [2] In my message to the Congress of February 19th on the Economic Opportunity Act, I called for a "national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life . . ." I again pledge myself to that commitment.
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> No such commitment has ever been asked in our nation: No such pledge has ever been given. . .

development and enable mothers on welfare to become self-supporting has become a national priority. Previously a non-profit venture or a small marginal business, day care now holds the promise of bigger business opportunities; various corporations are being established to promote franchises or to contract with housing developments and industries to develop and administer day care centers for their residents or employees. With popularity and national concern have grown a series of commonly-held assumptions about day care. Among them are the following:

1. Many children receive inadequate care and education at home. If we can get them out of their homes and into group day care with trained teachers, we can compensate for ineffective parenting.

2. Lots of day care is needed. Federal funds will be available to those who get there first, and centers will be filled as fast as they are built.

3. Size and efficiency go together. Only with big efficient centers can the great need for day care be met at reasonable cost.

4. Proprietary day care is low in quality; it's a shame the way people get into the "day care business" just to make a profit. (This view is more characteristic of nursery school professionals than of the public at large.)

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[2] (Cont.) We have learned. . . that the process of learning how to learn begins very, very early in the life of the infant child. Children begin this process in the very earliest months of life, long before they are anywhere near a first grade class, or even kindergarten, or play school group. We have also learned that for the children of the poor this ability to learn can begin to deteriorate very early in life, so that the youth begins school well behind his contemporaries and seemingly rarely catches up. He is handicapped as surely as a child crippled by polio is handicapped and he bears the burden of that handicap through all his life. . . .

We must remember that we are only beginning to learn what works, and what does not, in this field. We are on the verge of exciting breakthroughs, but much more must be learned before we can prepare a successful nation-wide preschool program.

From President Richard Nixon's statement on the establishment of an Office of Child Development, quoted in Head Start Newsletter, Office of Economic Opportunity (Washington: April - May, 1969).

In the remainder of this chapter we shall be questioning these assumptions. If the reader feels that we are on occasion over-stating our case, he should keep in mind this warning: We are convinced that our points need to be made loudly enough to be heard -- pinpricks in the general euphoria. We shall conclude with a discussion of possible strategies for the future growth of day care.

Inadequate Homes: Day Care as a Panacea

There are many teachers in day care who regard the long day as an unfortunate necessity, believing that staying home with their mothers would be better for children. Others, however, especially those concerned with the education of poverty children and accepting a cultural deprivation hypothesis, welcome the opportunity to get preschool children out of what they regard as inadequate homes and into group educational settings. There is a built-in logic to this point of view which attributes the later educational failure of the child to personal deficiencies caused by his home environment: if half-day Head Start doesn't produce testable change, try full-day Head Start; if compensatory education for four-year-olds isn't effective, let's get children out of their homes at three, or even earlier.

Even assuming the validity of this hypothesis [3], group day care isn't all that ideal. Under the best of circumstances it is likely to be a stressful environment for a young child, and many day care centers operate under less than the best of circumstances. The expansion of mediocre group day care often is justified by statements about the terrible home conditions of the children to be served. If the home is bad, the child may indeed need the experiences which would be provided by a good home; however, many of these experiences are difficult to provide in group care. There has been little thought given to the important differences between a group care and a home environment. Group care uses the nursery school, not the home, as its model. We see this model as different in significant ways from the model of a good home, and suggest that a little nursery school goes a long way.

Full Day Care as Home Substitute

The traditional half-day nursery school offers young children a protected environment scaled to their developmental level and designed to promote experiences of mastery through play within a child-sized, manageable world. Offered for a few hours a day, often for only two or three days a week, this experience helps to balance the child's on-going home and community life, which takes place in an adult-sized, complex urban environment full of larger problems, emotions and demands. Smooth programming in the nursery school may free children to explore the miniature world it offers, temporarily shielding them from the need to cope with the larger world.

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[3] The authors do not. Baratz, Labov, and others have argued persuasively in favor of approaching the education of children from different sub-cultures on the basis of the competences fostered by those sub-cultures, rather than on the assumption of deficiency. See for example Stephen and Joan Baratz (1970), and William Labov (1969).

The temporary aspect is important. Nursery school introduces greater variety into the home-bound child's daily routine. But nursery school has limitations as a learning environment as well as assets; it is designed to supplement, not substitute for, the experiences provided by a good home. The longer the day for children in group care, the more home as well as nursery school characteristics should be incorporated into the program.

Both at home and in school, children need opportunities to solve real problems. Real problems for a young child, include the following:

(1) how to cope with oneself -- with one's body, with feelings, and with being alone
(2) how to cope with other children
(3) how to cope with adults -- their expectations, rules, rewards and punishments
(4) how to cope with the natural environment -- dirt, rocks, animals and their behavior, weather, etc.
(5) how to cope with the man-made environment -- cars, furniture, toys, written language, etc. In general the man-made environment is more predictable and less infinitely complex than the natural environment, though this distinction may matter more to adults than to children. (Learning tasks of all sorts, including traditional academic skills, fall into this category only if they are selected as problems by the learner. If the task is assigned by a teacher or other adult, the real problem for the child often is not the task itself, but his relationship with the adult.)

Dimensions of Child-rearing Environments

How do good homes and nursery schools differ in the problems they present to children? One way to compare them is in terms of a series of dimensions which characterize any child-rearing environment and which have implications for the quality of children's growth. To provide adequately for both enrichment and simplification 4/, a child's total experience should provide some balance

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[4] An adult who enriches a child's environment acts as an innovater. Enrichment consists of adding to the environment by providing a wider range of experiences, sometimes by increasing the number of choices at any given time, but more often by introducing experiences not previously offered (i.e., by adding novelty). Impoverished environments, both in homes and group care,

along each of these dimensions, offering privacy as well as supervised play, familiar as well as unfamiliar places, and control as well as expression of emotions. Some experiences are more easily provided in homes than in group care. Good full-day care must work hard to offer an appropriate balance. To do so, the day care staff must know something about each child's home environment as well as about the potentials of the day care center environment.

Dimension:

Expression of emotions - Control of emotions

Program in day care centers appears to be marked by an absence of strong feelings and of activities which might evoke them. Many staff appear to be afraid that open expression of strong desires, in the form of anger, dependency, or abandoned exuberance, would lead to behavioral contagion and chaos.

Homes, in contrast to most other social settings, are places where expression of strong emotions is expected if not always approved. In a home with underlying affection, children learn that loss of emotional control, both by adults and by children, need not be disastrous. However, the level of intensity of interpersonal relationships and inconsistency in adult behavior toward children may be greater in some homes than a small child can cope with. Parents often find it difficult to be objective in dealing with their children, who represent for them strong sources of emotional gratification. They may misjudge some needs of children while overindulging others, and the love and anger they offer will reflect their own feelings of the moment, which may interfere with a consistent response to a child's behavior.

Dimension:

Nurturance - Promotion of independence

Group day care gives children less access to adult attention than they would have in a good home. At a very early age a child is expected to get along with relatively little nurturance and personal attention, and to adapt to being cared for by a series of adults. In many centers physical affection

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[4] (Cont.) fail to offer sufficient novelty and choice to either adults or children.

An adult who simplifies a child's environment regulates the complexity of the surroundings. Simplification consists in reducing the number of stimuli and alternative choices; practically, it can be provided by isolation and privacy, by supportive individual attention from an adult, or by firm enforcement of limits.

by teachers is discouraged; the feeling seems to be that if laps were made available, teachers would be continually smothered.

Clearly, some homes promote overdependence in young children. The mother whose primary satisfaction comes from her child's need for her may be reluctant to let him do things for himself and to leave her side. Day care can offer a healthy chance for self-help. It also rather typically offers an impersonal child-rearing environment, likely to reduce, rather than enhance, a child's sense of his own importance and to offer relatively limited experiences which foster a sense of self identity. Many young children are not developmentally ready to spend long hours in an impersonal environment.

Dimension:

Promotion of individuality - Promotion of group membership

In a good home a child's self-knowledge is fostered through his almost unlimited access to an adult who can answer his questions of the moment and who will respond with warmth and concern to his attempts to comprehend the world and give it form through language. Perhaps the strongest impetus toward growth is provided by his family's interest in his individual style of development, their encouragement of his new accomplishments, and their readiness to modify family activities and schedules to meet his particular needs. Under these circumstances it is clear to the child that he is important, and that how he feels and what he does matter to others.

In group day care, even in the best of centers individual attention is limited, and in those of poor quality it is almost non-existent unless procured by behavior which demands adult intervention. Perhaps the greatest liability in day care placement lies in the likelihood that neither parent nor teacher will be able to pay close attention to the individual unfolding and development of the child. Only one teacher in our study sample clearly described keeping track of individual development as her most important job. Yet it is precisely this kind of sensitivity which enables a good mother to support and draw out a child's potential.

On the other hand, only in large families are young children at home likely to develop a clear sense of membership in a group of children. Group day care can offer rich opportunities for mastering a variety of social skills. These range from social rules and elements of courtesy to real competence in social interaction with other children, in which the child learns both to exert himself and to give in without threat to his self-esteem. Experience of membership in a supportive peer group may thus be well provided in day care.

Dimension:

Relationships with same-age children - - Relationships with wide-age range of children

In large families and in neighborhoods with many children, much of children's learning comes from each other. In the "open education" model of British infant schools, as in the traditional American one-room school house, a cross-section of different age groups insures that children will teach children.

American nursery schools, like the public schools which follow them, tend to be organized in age-graded classes. Again, a little nursery school goes a long way. To be a four-year-old in a group of other four-year-olds for two or three hours a day offers the child an excellent opportunity to test himself and interact with others very much like him, without interference from older or younger children. To restrict his experiences to his peers for the entire long day is to fail to provide the kinds of learning that can occur in other settings. We have found wide-age grouping of children predictive of high quality in day care program (Prescott and Jones, 1967).

Dimension:

Relationships with adults - Relationships with children

Day care offers children the opportunity to develop new relationships with adults outside the family, as well as with children, and to gain confidence and skill in leaving parents and forming friendships. These relationships are more likely to be superficial than those within the family; they are usually smoother and more predictable.

Many centers offer children very limited opportunities to observe adults in varied work roles. At home, the child is able to observe daily activities in the home and neighborhood, and other adult roles while going to stores and other community settings. Where day care centers permit children to interact with visitors, and make available to children those regular personnel with interesting tasks -- cook, housekeeper, custodian -- the learning environment is enriched.

Dimension:

Male role models - Female role models

Both boys and girls need adult role models of both sexes. These are provided by unbroken homes and/or close extended family relationships. Many of the children in day care have no fathers at home, and very few day care centers have men in active roles in the program. At present husband-wife proprietary centers appear to offer the most effective opportunity for meeting this need in group day care.

Dimension:

Close adult supervision - Freedom from supervision

At home adults have other things to do. The child is often out of their sight; consequently he has opportunities both for privacy and for deciding whether to conform or to break rules. These opportunities to exercise initiative, in deciding what to do and whether or not to live up to adult expectations for his behavior, are used by the child in developing his sense of personal identity, his concept of who he is and what he can do.

Concern for safety in group day care tends to severely restrict this type of freedom. Individual children are seldom permitted to remain indoors if the group is outside. Most play yards are designed so that children cannot go off into secret crannies. During nap time cots are placed in an open room; provision of semi-privacy at nap time usually carries the connotation of misbehavior. Typically, children are not permitted to be out of adult view and consequently are, in most settings, also continually accessible to other children.

Dimension:

Activity - Inactivity (rest)

Day care centers carefully schedule the children's day to provide balance between activity and rest. Where this schedule is fixed, however, it may fail to coincide with the rhythm of some individual children. For example, the child may be required to sleep whether he needs to or not, and without regard for the resultant lateness of bedtime at home.

At home a child is more likely to determine his own activity schedule. However, some homes are overstimulating, while others encourage only inactivity (such as television-watching) for long periods.

Dimension:

Choice among activities - Assigned tasks

In most homes preschool children have few assigned tasks; they can choose what to do, in between routines, so long as they refrain from attracting negative attention from adults. However, some homes offer relatively few activities among which to choose, either because space and materials are very limited or because many potential activities (water play in the sink, investigation of mother's bureau) are forbidden.

Day care centers usually offer many potential activities, but vary widely in the extent to which children or teachers make the choice of which are to be used during the greater part of the time. Children learn obedience and gain security from assigned tasks; they gain a keener sense of who they are in relation to the world by making their own choices.

Dimension:

Large muscle activities - Small muscle activities

Many urban homes offer limited opportunity for large muscle activity. Parents discourage it emphatically within small indoor spaces, and may not be able to let young children outside safely unless an adult is with them. Day care often provides superior opportunities, although here too, limited space and teacher concern for group control may discourage extensive free movement in some centers.

Small muscle competence is developed through "table activities" of all sorts. These may be plentiful in some homes, limited in others. Day care usually is rich in such activities; in some programs they may be over-emphasized at the expense of large spontaneous movement.

Dimension:

Flexible time schedule - Fixed time schedule

Time schedules in homes where the mother does not work are usually flexible. They may become more complex and demanding if older children must be transported to school, if a father works nights and must sleep during the day, or if medical problems require frequent doctor's appointments and long periods in waiting rooms.

Maternal employment, especially on a full-time basis, serves as a particularly crucial interference with flexibility in child-rearing. The mother who must be at a place of employment within a set work schedule, and transport her child to a day care center within this schedule, is likely to be constrained in her daily relations with her children by the urgency of household tasks, schedules to be met, and tiredness. Since the strains of this scheduling are likely to be experienced by all children in full day care, relaxed scheduling within the center seems important in providing children with a balanced experience. A principal disadvantage of large day care centers lies in the necessity for coordinating the movement of many people, which results in inflexible scheduling and lack of responsiveness to children's individual needs.

Dimension:

Stable, safe environment - Varied, challenging environment

Group day care generally offers good physical care, a stability of routine, and a setting designed to be safe for young children. It often fails to offer children opportunities to test the limits of skill. For children of this age, skills are usually physical. Play equipment such as tricycles, swings and slides are mastered relatively soon, and teachers often seem overly restrictive toward any attempt to use them in unorthodox (and more challenging) ways.

Further, in very few centers are children taken on excursions into the community; many do not permit children outside the premises even for a neighborhood walk. If a center does not have a view of the street, and if the cook, handyman, and cleaning woman have no contact with children, the children's experience is even more highly restricted 5/.

One of the advantages of a home is that it is not smoothly programmed. It is primarily a place where the mother occupies herself with a continual meeting of immediate needs, many of them having little to do with children. In the course of this activity she provides a child-rearing environment which has a broad range of stimuli. It is often the circumstances which are problems to her that provide opportunities for children to see how the adult world operates and learn that the unexpected can be handled. The water heater goes bad and brings a plumber to the house, the car breaks down and necessitates a trip to the garage, groceries must be purchased to feed unexpected company, a gift selected, a neighbor is sick and leaves her children for the day. Each of these events produces an input of novel stimuli. In contrast, a smoothly running day care center can quite easily insulate children from unplanned encounters; they may have no contact with the kitchen, the street, or anyone coming in the front door. This results in a monotony which must be as deadly for adults as for children.

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5 The spectre of legal liability often makes directors cautious about taking children off the premises, permitting them in the kitchen, letting them climb or engage in any form of risky physical activity. In the interest of safety, Los Angeles City Children's Centers do not have swings and some proprietary centers have eliminated jungle gyms.

Dimension:

Rich natural environment - Rich man-made environment

Rural homes offer the child a rich natural environment. Especially at poverty level they may offer a man-made environment of limited variety. In a good day care center the variety of play materials and equipment -- climbing apparatus, swings, sandbox, playhouse, art materials, books, games and puzzles -- is superior to that in most homes. The learning opportunities available to children in such settings are many, particularly when a skilled teacher is active to help children make full use of the environment.

In cities, both homes and day care centers may be hard put to offer experience with animals and an accessible natural environment. Covering a yard surface with asphalt for easy maintenance appears to be an irresistible temptation for builders. However, such yards are difficult to organize for optimum play use, and they fail to provide experience with the natural order of the world -- trees, bushes, dirt, grass and all their associated creatures.

Diversity and Family Value Systems

We have spoken as if all children ought to have a balance of experiences along each dimension. While in abstract developmental terms this may be the ideal, in the real world children are raised to live in particular societies and social groups. Consequently, the sort of balance to be provided along any of these dimensions will vary with the values of the concerned adults, as well as with their assessment of the individual child's needs. For example, Bettelheim (1969) has vividly documented the ways in which the kibbutz promotes communal values through group child-rearing: the child learns to rely strongly on his peers, rather than on himself, for comfort and support. Children do not have privacy nor does the community believe they should. The effects on adult personality, also documented, are seen as functional within kibbutz society. Similar child-rearing values are described for the Soviet Union by Bronfenbrenner (1970).

In contrast, traditional elementary education in this country has strongly promoted competitive individuality. Cooperation in school is frequently defined as cheating, and achievement in an impersonal environment is expected. It is up to the child to work out his personal problems privately. This upbringing, when successful, enables the adult to keep appropriate distance from fellow workers and competitors, be mobile and ambitious, and rely on a very small number of persons for intimacy.

American families vary widely in their expectations for their children. Some hope most strongly for academic and business or professional achievement; others, for loyalty to family and a cooperative spirit; others, for the capacity to enjoy life. Whatever their values, parents judge their success as parents in terms of their children's success in realizing them. Where parents are effective, they will structure the home environment for children to reward and punish, stimulate and discourage, in the direction of these goals.

Where day care programs operate under varied sponsorship, they too vary in the child-rearing values of those responsible. It seems likely that congruence in the values held by parents and teachers will help the young child to develop a coherent picture of the world and his place in it. For this reason, it is important that the diversity in families be reflected in diversity of programs available for the care of their children. Good day care compensates for imbalances in the home without undermining parental values.

As we have suggested above, group full-day care cannot easily provide balanced home-substitute experiences along some dimensions. Consequently, it is important to consider not only the ways in which quality can be achieved in group care, but also the possible alternatives to group care for children of working mothers.

On the Day Care Bandwagon: Unlimited Expansion

It is highly probable that various sources of funds for the establishment of day care will be available in the immediate future and perhaps thereafter. The strings attached to funding will have a great deal to do with the sorts of programs to be established.

To many, day care automatically means group day care. Aside from its failure to provide an optimum balance of experience for some children, group care has other definite limitations on its usefulness. As now operated, group care does not provide for sick children. Nor does it meet the needs of families with very young children. A mother with an infant, a three-year-old, and older children cannot use the typical day care center. Such a mother, without a car, would find it difficult to get to the center even if it offered comprehensive care.

At least in Los Angeles County, some new day care centers are not enrolling children with the rapidity that their promoters had expected; six months to a year of operation may pass before the center is filled to capacity, depending partly on total capacity and partly on location. We think this delay is probably less an indicator of a lack of community need for care than it is of the reluctance of mothers who already have child-care arrangements, to switch. As any working mother can verify, arranging child care is a complicated and frustrating process; any reasonably congenial plan will be maintained until, for some reason or other, it is no longer satisfactory. The mother whose neighbor or aunt cares for the children will not necessarily rush to enroll them in a new day care center, particularly if she sees informal arrangements as more convenient or less expensive.

Family life and child rearing are strengthened in a democratic society by increasing the number of supportive alternatives available to parents. An alternative is not a choice which exists in theory only; it must be perceived as a real possibility by the chooser. For example, if the mother does not know how or is afraid to use the neighborhood library, it is not really an available alternative. If she has never used group day care, she may not consider it, even if it is there.

Day care is one important choice which should be available to parents. Because different children have different needs, and different parents have different values, there should, wherever possible, be variety in the types of day care services offered in a community. Parents should be able to choose whether to place children in day care, and which facility to use. We see two guidelines as most critical in setting directions for growth.

1. Diversity in child care opportunities should be maintained and strengthened.

2. Day care should be voluntary on the part of parents. "A good 'mandatory' day care program is a contradiction in terms." 6/

Turning the Tables: Home as a Group Care Substitute

One approach to improving the developmental environment which inadequate homes offer children is to develop day care opportunities to get children out of the home. The other logical option is to keep children at home and improve homes as learning settings. (In between, of course, is the combination of home and school implicit in half-day Head Start.) We submit that it is not useful to try to determine which approach is "best" and promote that as public policy. Families are different. Children are different. Policy which supports these differences seems to us essential in a democratic, pluralistic society.

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[6] From a Statement of National Committee for Day Care of Children to the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, on H.R. 12080, Social Security Amendments of 1967, September 22, 1967 (mimeo). The statement continues:

> No mother should be forced to place her children in day care so that she can go to work. The judgment as to whether a young child needs his mother's constant care and attention is one that, in our society, traditionally belongs first of all to the mother. Society may intervene only when the child is in physical danger. In this instance, however, we are proposing to intervene in circumstances which relate not to danger but to poverty. Such a pattern of intervention may be appropriate in totalitarian countries. It is not appropriate in America.

The task, as we see it, is to identify the whole range of alternatives which are possible and to develop strategies for promoting good child rearing under a wide variety of circumstances. The choice among alternatives should remain with the parents.

Good child rearing may occur within any of the following situations:

1. The mother stays at home with her young children.
2. Half-day nursery school is used to supplement the home environment for the child. The mother stays home or may work part-time.
3. The mother works regularly, part- or full-time, arranging for care of the children inside or outside of the home.

Each of these situations works well for some families, badly for others. Strategies for community support to improve the quality of family living and children's learning where things aren't working well can take two directions:

a) enabling the family to switch from one option to another,
b) offering input to improve quality within the existing option.

A full range of options. To enable mothers of young children to get out of the home, either for relief from constant child care or for taking a job, opportunities for care must be available which are suitable in terms of location, hours, cost, and the characteristics (particularly age) of the children. Logical options include baby-sitting children in their own home (provided by a relative or housekeeper living in the home, relative or friend coming in to help out, or a sitter paid on an hourly basis); care provided in someone else's home (a relative, neighbor, friend, or person paid for care; the latter may run a licensed family day care home, or be unlicensed); nursery school (part-day programs under varying auspices, which may be free or charge tuition, and may operate for five or fewer days per week); and group full-day care (operated under public, proprietary or non-profit sponsorship; usually but not always charging tuition). Under special circumstances 24-hour care may be available, either as part of the communal life style of certain communities (the Israeli kibbutz has been most thoroughly described; it has some small-scale counterparts in this country), as specialized treatment for children whose parents cannot manage them at home (severely retarded, emotionally disturbed), or as an emergency arrangement when a child or parent cannot function in his accustomed role at home.

It should be noted that *all* of these options are available to very few families. For example, at present group care is rarely open to children under age two, and sometimes excludes children under three 7/. Minimum-cost or free programs, such as Head Start, typically require a means test of families; those who just fail to meet it can rarely afford the cost of other nursery schools. Across the nation relatives are the most common resource for child care (Lajewski, 1959), but some young families have moved away from relatives and have not found other informal resources for help.

To enable mothers to stay in the home, or to return to it after an unsatisfactory try at going to work, other resources are necessary. For mothers who are their family's sole support, Aid to Families with Dependent Children is an important option. Its usefulness is often limited by inadequacy of allowances for certain items, by the requirement of strict accounting of how it is spent, without regard to individual life styles, and by the stipulation that there can be no father in the home. As is well known, to the extent that requirements are unrealistic, they promote cheating (by mothers who may have no other options available) and turn social workers into policing agents rather than facilitators.

The most radical of possible options is a family allowance with no strings attached. In some countries this takes the form of a national investment in each child without regard to the family's circumstances. Alternatively, it could be attached to a guaranteed annual income plan, and thus limited to low-income families -- but with no restriction on how the money is spent. Only this sort of cash support can give poverty mothers real choice between going to work or staying home, taking the personal needs of both mother and children into account. Any other system penalizes the mother who stays home; usually she stays home not as a choice among real alternatives, but as the only thing she can do. This plan would be effective only if the income ceiling were higher than poverty level; otherwise the mother who got a job might thereby become ineligible. Money spent to rent a larger apartment or to buy a car will do at least as much to enrich the child-rearing environment in many homes as any educational intervention could. Mothers whose morale is raised or whose practical daily problems are eased generally become better mothers, both in quality of interaction with their children and in the model of adult competence they are able to provide. Growing up in an environment of realistic despair does not equip a child with confidence to face new demands in the larger world.

Some families can remain intact only if stress-relieving assistance in child rearing is available. Homemaker and baby-sitting services may make a crucial difference.

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[7] Most of the children in group day care are youngest or only children. Group care is rarely a useful resource for families with infants or toddlers at home (Prescott and Jones, 1967).

Improving Quality: Points for Community Intervention

It is our contention that in this country, public policy in education and welfare which does not have the strengthening of family life as one of its underlying objectives is both unrealistic and inconsistent with democratic principles. Only a society which achieves consensus on the desirable personality characteristics of all its citizens can with consistency establish an authoritative system of child rearing. The alternative is local control; and "local", where young children are concerned, is the family.

Compensatory education programs have not thus far been notably successful in promoting measurable school achievement in children. Getting them younger and working harder to instill the expectations of an alien school culture has appeared to many educators to hold promise, and has certainly opened new doors for many children. Some programs are also risking real parent involvement and control, and here the results may be more spectacular. We say "risk" advisedly. Educating children without parent involvement is usually a homogenizing process, in which the professional designers of the system remain in charge. Involving parents at the decision-making level will promote greater heterogeneity in education -- and greater competence in parents. The number and kinds of important choices parents are able to make will have more effect on their children's learning than anything the children are taught in school. Children learn who they themselves are, and what they can do, by watching adults -- especially their parents. Parents had better be somebody, if children are to grow up effective human beings. Our society is set up on the assumption that being somebody means making choices -- as voter, worshiper, worker, consumer, and as a parent. Public policy should, therefore, be concerned with strengthening family life by providing resources to promote:

a) effective child rearing at home,
b) opportunities for mothers to get out of the home with their children,
c) opportunities for mothers to get out of the home without their children -- for recreation, for continuing education, or for work.

Potential resources for child rearing at home, and for getting out of the home with children, include:

1. Provision for sufficient income to enable mothers to stay home.

2. Provision of adequate housing and supportive neighborhoods for child rearing where children can play safely and explore freely.

3. Homemaker and baby-sitting services available as needed, both in emergencies and to relieve the mother of constant care.

4. Home visiting with any of several objectives. Public health nurses, social workers, and clergymen traditionally visit homes. More recently educationally-oriented home visiting programs, by teachers or other educational personnel, have been designed to increase parent involvement in children's learning.

5. Resource centers for parents. In addition to such public facilities as libraries and playgrounds, toy loan, family counseling and parent education are among the possible services offered.

6. Half-day nursery schools, including Head Start, offering a supplementary educational experience to the child, related parent education program, and an opportunity for relief from constant child care for the mother.

Public policy should support choice among child care opportunities by families, and the diversity of programs necessary to make that choice possible. To promote quality in child care outside the home, all of the following types of intervention may be utilized.

For family day care homes
1. Licensing
2. Training for family day care mothers
3. Resources comparable to those available to mothers staying at home with their own children: home visiting, resource centers, half-day nursery schools.

For group day care
1. Public administration of programs
2. Licensing of non-public facilities
3. Establishment of standards and resources for teacher education
4. Subsidy of non-public facilities, either directly or through vouchers to parents.

For promotion of diversity in types of care
1. Support of licensing, administrative and fiscal policies which encourage diversity in size and sponsorship
2. Provision of vouchers to parents which can be used to pay for any type of day care.

Provision of the widest possible choice by parents among types of care is likely to strengthen quality both of day care programs and of child rearing at home. The use of vouchers by low-income parents good for care at any community nursery is among the approaches for promoting such choice. Subsidy of potential day nursery owners in low-income neighborhoods, and establishment of resource centers to promote increases in the capacity and quality of family day care homes, are other promising approaches for encouraging diversity.

Assets

There are some existing conditions on the day care scene, regarded by some observers as problems, which we see as assets with respect to their contribution to diversity.

Proprietary Day Care: Bulwark of Diversity

Across the nation more than half the group day care opportunities are provided by proprietary nurseries. Such nurseries are frequently criticized for their "profit-making" status by other professionals in the field (who are becoming even more alarmed by the onset of franchise day nurseries), and, in fact, private nursery owners frequently oppose on economic grounds the efforts of other professional organizations to raise education requirements for nursery teachers. In fact, however, given an effective state system of licensing and consultation, supplemented by peer-group regulation on the initiative of the private owners themselves, many proprietary nurseries have demonstrated ability to provide quality day care for a large segment of the population, and to contribute greatly to the variety of opportunities for care. We have also found that in proprietary care the child-rearing values of parents are less likely to be discrepant with those of the nursery. It is evident that parents who can afford to pay for care make reasonably effective use of their resultant latitude for choice (Prescott, 1965).

Family Day Care

Family day care homes, which can offer children a more intimate and relaxed experience than group day care, are an important resource. They generally provide much more flexibility than group care in respect to location, cost, hours, capacity to care for infants and toddlers, and care for children with mild illnesses. Family day care, licensed or unlicensed, by non-relatives or relatives, together with care in the child's own home accounts for more child care than all group programs combined (Lajewski, 1959).

Providing care for other mothers' children is an important income source for many mothers with young children of their own. The variety of recently established public programs to train day care mothers, with the goal of helping other mothers get jobs, reflects recognition of the importance of this resource.

Concern for the quality of children's learning in family day care has led some educators to be critical of this resource; they see group programs as having greater educational potential. As our previous comparison of homes and group care as child-rearing environments suggests, we believe that the built-in liabilities of group full-day care are no more readily solved than those of day care homes. Intervention to increase the quality of homes, including family day care homes, as learning environments appears to us as a most important direction for public policy.

Part-time Care

The availability of both part-time employment and part-time care is important in supporting the family flexibility which permits parents to make appropriate choices in child rearing. Mothers able to work part-time as nursery school teachers have contributed enormously to the field as well as to their own sense of accomplishment. Other mothers have benefited by the availability of part-time care for their children.

The most radical social change extending these benefits to more families with working mothers would be the extension of part-day employment opportunities in business and industry and in such professional fields as secondary school teaching. The long day of care entailed by eight hour employment of mothers is exhausting for children, teachers and the mothers themselves. One California day care supervisor recently made such a recommendation to a state-wide group of black militant leaders concerned with on-the-job training for working women. "To be really effective," she told them, "you should work to get industry to support a six hour day as an option for working mothers." Supplemented if necessary by public aid to dependent children, this plan would still be less expensive than aid to the children of non-working mothers, but more beneficial to the family than full-time maternal employment. It would, of course, be more complex administratively for the employer. The question is one of priorities: which can better absorb scheduling complexities, employers or families?

Flexibile Standards for Teaching Personnel

Requirements for teachers of young children in California are flexible, varying with type of program. Out of their concerns for quality of program for children and for leverage for increasing teachers salaries, most of the professional organizations have worked hard to secure more standardized and more stringent teacher qualification requirements. Their opposition has come especially from private nursery owners concerned with salary costs, and from Head Start representatives concerned with employment opportunities and career development for indigenous personnel. Both sides have won partial victories. Educational requirements for teachers in nurseries licensed by the Department of Social Welfare and in public Children's Centers have remained lower than desired by the professional organizations, but an early childhood teaching credential including nursery as well as kindergarten primary grades has recently been adopted; it will serve as a standard, though not as a requirement, for teachers of young children in most nursery programs.

While the flexibility of existing requirements is seen as detrimental by many professional leaders, it also serves to foster variety in sponsorship and in the base of teacher recruitment. The establishment of standards has clear advantages; to apply them as across-the-board requirements would be less clearly desirable.

As a marginal, little-recognized field, nursery education recruited most of its teachers from among mature women who liked children and could afford to work for low wages. Today, however, a number of young people idealistically seeking personal identity, flexibility, and community with others are being attracted to the field of early childhood because of its person-centered quality. They see the spontaneity of childhood as an important value to be preserved, and nursery education in strong contrast to elementary education in its child orientation 8/. To the extent that this field is able to maintain experimental and person-centered qualities, it will attract an increasing number of such young and able personnel -- some of them college graduates, others, school drop-outs who will be motivated to return to school only as they see it gaining relevance in the context of their work experience in the "real world" of children.

Head Start has brought many people into the field who did not thrive on formal education, but have developed other competences out of their life experience. As parents are drawn into active participation in Head Start, increasing numbers become interested in permanent employment in teaching, and hence in the continuing education to make this goal possible.

If standards were inflexible, the career ladder would be close to many such people. The credentialing process has produced a homogeneity of

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[8] Margaret Mead has drawn on a cross-cultural analogy to compare the nursery school teacher to the "child-nurse" of other societies. In contrast to the parental-guidance role traditionally assumed by the elementary teacher, the skilled teacher of young children "stays close to the young child's bodily impulses and exuberant imaginative attempts to take in the world around him. The teacher is an ally of infancy, rather than a surrogate of the finished world of tradition or the fluid world-in-the-making of the entrepreneur. (This type of teacher) has come into being as one gifted teacher after another--Froebel, Montessori, Anna Freud -- has rebelled against the price which modern, urbanized, industrialized Europeans and Americans were paying for their new kind of civilization." (Mead, 1951) p. 30.

background and outlook among elementary teachers which limits the ability of the schools to cope with the diverse population which they serve. The teaching team, an approach well tested in early childhood education, offers particular promise for assuring some external control of standards while simultaneously providing both children and adults with the diversity important to growth. For the adult who enters a team as an assistant teacher, both day-to-day support and the promise of a career ladder are present. For the child whose contact is with a wide variety of adults, his growing comprehension of the world is fostered through his daily experience with adults who are actively engaged in the world -- maintaining it and making it work and learning about it. Any standards for teachers should facilitate the opportunities for these kinds of experiences -- not restrict them.

Problems

The assets just discussed all have a common theme: they contribute to diversity in child rearing. In contrast, certain trends in day care today seem likely to have the opposite effect. Their aim is efficiency in administration and in education.

The Large Day Care Center

In the past, private and non-profit nurseries have typically remained moderate in size (under 60 children), although some large public centers have reflected school district tendencies to centralize with the goal of administrative efficiency through standaridized operations. With current heightened interest in the establishment of day care facilities on a wide scale, private franchise groups as well as public agencies are increasingly proposing to administer large group day care centers serving up to 200 children [9].

There are persuasive arguments for building large centers. They serve more children and they are cheaper to operate. Cost of land, buildings, and certain types of overhead do not increase proportionately to size. However, in spite of their greater resources for securing good physical space and trained personnel, good program is found relatively infrequently in large centers (Prescott and Jones, 1967).

The environment provided by the large center is one in which the freedom and flexibility of children and teachers is severely restricted. In a large center it is difficult to avoid schedules in which groups of children and their teachers simply must arrive at expected activities on time. The first group assigned to a toilet room cannot be late without making other groups late in turn; snack time must end in time for lunch procedures to begin, etc. Furthermore, the large amount of space per se and the large numbers of children apparently act to impede freedom of movement and freedom of choice for children and staff. Large size creates a peculiar set of problems which require that goals of "meeting the schedule" be given priority. These goals frequently have little or nothing to do with the needs of individual children, and often they directly interfere with meeting these needs.

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[9] American Child Care Centers, one of the first organizations to promote day care franchising, proposes centers of 125 and 150 children.

Young children cannot comprehend the necessities behind these impersonal forces. Teachers, especially if they are naturally sensitive and responsive, also feel uneasy with the regimentation which they must impose. Good teachers find it hard to accept this kind of ambivalence. Since many will leave for jobs more to their liking, the large center tends to accumulate teachers who are "rule-enforcers" (Prescott, 1970).

In the large centers which we studied, children were seldom observed to be highly interested and enthusiastically involved. These findings on the relationship of size to amount of personal involvement are not unique to our study, but have been corroborated in other kinds of settings such as schools and factory work groups (Barker, 1964).

In the early years a child's experience and personal resources are too limited for him to benefit from care which is impersonal and highly rule-oriented or from care which communicates sharp discrepancies between the home and the day care center. The establishment of the large center is an unimaginative solution to a need that requires a diversity of alternatives which can guarantee rich, personal child-rearing environments. Lacking this, the child cannot find a dependable bridge between his home and the larger society (Prescott, 1970).

Efficiency in Education

Mass production in day care is advocated not only by administrators interested in standardizing operations, but also by educational planners wishing to diffuse their expertise to as many learning environments as possible.

The distance which typically exists in large administrative systems between curriculum planners and children promotes objectivity. Planners removed from daily contact with the disturbing individuality of real children can devote their energies to the design of efficient learning programs, developing teacher-proof curricula leading to standardized child products 10/.

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[10] "The Office of Economic Opportunity will do a multi-million dollar test to determine whether performance contracts with private education and research groups measurably improve reading and math skills of disadvantaged

Like other man-made environments designed to produce maximum efficiency in the accomplishment of a specified task (bureaucracies and assembly lines are examples), educational systems of this type are structured to provide pre-established solutions for problems and to avoid reliance on individuals (teachers and children) for ad hoc solutions. Rules and regulations, job descriptions, and other procedural guides are all directed to this end. The task to be accomplished is the criterion, and the individual is expendable; the misfit will be vetoed out of the system.

In a system, however, in which the individual child's growth is a primary goal, he cannot properly be eliminated in the interest of greater efficiency. Rather, the system must be sufficiently adaptable to meet his needs. Failing this, it should be explicit about its limited goals, paying attention to what is happening to children and recommending to parents that those who are not thriving be withdrawn.

Several questionable assumptions underlie the efficiency approach to educational planning. The first is that, in an era of rapid social change, educational planners can predict in detail what all children will need to learn. Second, the assumption is made that it is possible to discover the one best way of teaching children -- that there is or can be, in fact, a best way. Third, and most crucial, the planners assume that a program can be administered so efficiently that teachers will teach, and children will learn, as they are programmed to do.

These assumptions will result in the adoption of an educational orthodoxy (behavior modification and Montessori are both orthodoxies in this sense). Orthodoxies can be useful for the clarity and security they offer, provided two conditions are met: 1) parents have a choice among them, and outside them, in providing educational experiences for their children; 2) there is sufficient room for rebellion at the lower end of the heirarchy so that individual children and teachers who don't fit can make enough noise to be heard.

If child rearing, at home or in day care, is to be concerned with the growth of self-identity, competence and confidence, day-to-day growth and learning require a setting characterized by novelty and flexibility, in which there are real and important choices to be made and problems to be solved. To help children solve real problems, the adult in charge should also have real problems to solve -- and they ought not to be just problems with authority. Only the classroom teacher knows what he can really accomplish at the level of action, with a given group of children, and often there is a wide discrepancy between reality and administrative directives.

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[10] (Cont.) youngsters. OEO contracts . . . will go to six private groups. They will be paid on a sliding scale, based on students' performance." Behavior Today, 1:8 (June 8, 1970) pg. 6.

(Elementary teachers know perfectly well they can't teach all 27 required subjects to all 35 children; the gap between the way it is and "the way it spozed to be" is common knowledge.) In many settings in which directives cannot realistically be followed, the most effective coping strategy is to act as if they had been followed, by completing reports and making a show of "covering" material.

Recognition of the crucial function of autonomy on the part of the learner (in selecting problems to be solved and in testing possible solutions) is built into non-authoritarian educational systems 11/. Similar learning opportunities will occur within the authoritarian systems produced by educational orthodoxies only if the child is recognized as having real power to innovate or disrupt. (The fact that punishment may follow does not detract from the child's power; sufficiently impressive punishment may actually enhance it.) 12/. For small children it is also important that the exercise of authority be warm and personal. To accomplish this it is essential that the teacher be acting out of personal conviction, not simply at the orders of an administrator or consultant. Authoritarian systems can foster children's growth provided they offer adequate balance between assigned tasks and unregulated free time (teacher direction is balanced by free play at

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[11] Authoritarian systems hold truth to be revealed, and in the possession of the socializing agents; socialization of children consists of the systematic elimination of alternatives (Friedenberg, 1969) p. 30. What adults know is what children need to learn.

Non-authoritarian systems view truth as emergent, variable with the situation and discoverable by children as well as by adults; socialization is the systematic creation of alternatives. Enforcement of limits, like truth, is situational; decisions are made on the basis of utility rather than morality.

[12] James Herndon in The Way It Spozed to Be provides a variety of illustrations of this process with older children. In our own observations we were impressed by the potential of the strong religious orientation of some day care centers for developing the child's sense of identity. Where it is understood that one may be good or bad, and the child is given opportunities to develop and exercise conscience within this framework, he may sometimes choose to innovate by being bad. If adults are consistent, punishment will follow, but ideally it will be a sympathetic punishment based on the assumption that all of us are sinners, and we all need to keep trying to be good. In these circumstances it will be clear to the child that what he does makes a difference. It is absolute authority, which vetoes out rebellion rather than merely dependably punishing it, which stifles growth.

recess; assembly line demands, by the coffee break), and provided the individual can identify the authority and choose whether to do or not-do what is required (and take the consequences).

Non-authoritarian systems are the alternative option for fostering growth. The choices they offer must be real ones, not the subtle manipulation of children found in those highly impersonal settings in which there is no good or bad, love or hate, and in which the child gradually learns that you can't beat the system, or make a real impact on it whatever you do. That is, either an identifiable authority should be responsible for maintaining order, or everyone should be, including the children. Further, the choice of whether or not to have order must be shared with the children, and the risk of disorder be realistically taken so that the shared problem is a real one, not just a pleasant teacher-imposed fiction of cooperative effort ("Now we all want to be careful and happy, don't we?"). Again, it is important that the teacher be acting out of conviction, to enable him to establish a personal relationship with children and decide what risks he is willing to take. The imposition of a non-authoritarian style on teachers will result either in subtle manipulation of children or in chaos.

Educational Goals for Young Children

An educational system can be conceived in either the present or the future tense. In the present tense, focus is on the individual child at his existing level of development and on the tasks appropriate to this level (Erikson, 1950). In the future tense, each stage is used to begin practice of the skills which will be needed in the next stage (and thus Head Start is preparation for first grade, elementary school is preparation for high school, high school is preparation for college, college is preparation for life -- and life is preparation for death). Teaching with emphasis on the future is likely to emphasize discipline and control. Present-oriented teaching encourages discovery of self and of the world 13/.

When no one but nursery school teachers and some parents cared about early childhood education, group programs for young children could afford to be relaxed. If some were only "custodial", they nevertheless generally permitted children to learn through play, as they would at home. Now that everyone, at least officially, thinks early childhood is important, the heat is on -- often at the expense of the children. We have considerable recent research evidence than an enriched environment in the early years stimulates attention, curiosity, problem-solving and the IQ score. We also have considerable evidence that formal teaching of skills in elementary school does not result in learning for many children. The cry for enrichment in early

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[13] See footnote 8, page 159 for discussion by Margaret Mead of this distinction.

childhood is resulting, on a wide scale, in earlier and earlier emphasis on teaching of skills. Teaching of skills typically is carried on without regard for where a child's attention is, and it often appears to be based on the assumption that what the teacher teaches, the child will learn [14]. A curriculum for young children which is based on right and wrong answers, rather than on fostering spontaneous discovery of self and the world, will inevitably result in the labeling of some children as unsuccessful, even before first grade. There is little doubt that such labeling serves as a permanent self-fulfilling prophecy for both children and teachers (Rosenthal, 1968). There can be little virtue in beginning it earlier and earlier.

National concern for early learning has been enormously productive of new programs and new ideas, benefiting many children. By its very urgency, it carries risks as well.

Solutions

The purpose of this study was to examine the growth of day care as a social institution, with particular attention to the dynamics of the total system. Throughout this report, we have emphasized the role of money as the great facilitator. It seems fitting, therefore, to summarize our findings by reducing them to this lowest common denominator.

In answer to our original question: How does a community get day care? Our data indicated that day care services will be provided if a dedicated clientele will pay for them or fight effectively enough to persuade someone else to pay. That someone is usually the federal government, although it can be a state or local government or charitable organization. The tab will be picked up if such action solves general social problems, such as providing workers in wartime or keeping women off the relief roles. Less frequently, the primary reason for support actually has been concern for children. At present the reasons for expanding day care services are mixed, although social concern for the provision of good experiences for children has become a priority in its own right.

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[14] Some long-established day care centers have responded to the pressure, with interesting if not encouraging results. Recognition that mathematical concepts, for example, can be learned in early childhood has led some centers to schedule the day into subject-matter time blocks, moving children from the mathematics classroom to the language classroom with due regard to their short attention spans. As one teacher of two-year-olds rather desperately commented, 'Well, they're learning a lot about lining-up."

The second question posed was: How does a community get quality in day care services? Our data also shed considerable light on the conditions which will promote or discourage quality. Idealized standards do not, in themselves, promote quality. Rather, people do what they can do with the resources which are available. The outcome will depend on the competence of the leadership and the constraints and possibilities offered by the surrounding environment.

When environmental conditions are favorable, and when knowledgeable, reality-oriented leaders are available, quality emerges. Important environmental stresses which affect quality of care are financial stability, size and adequacy of physical facility, actions of regulatory bodies, administrative constraints, and ability to command adequate staff and clientele 15/.

Leaders recognize these constraints and develop strategies for coping with them. The leaders whom we have described appear to have developed these talents through direct contact with other leaders who already possessed them, and through constant experimentation with what was possible. Formal classroom training did not account for their knowledge or commitment.

The Things Money Can Buy

Money, especially federal money, produces instant programs as nothing else does. From the WPA nurseries to Head Start, federal programs have galvanized action in behalf of young children, with long-lasting effects. In general (although this is not an absolute rule) the more the money, the greater the services. Decisions concerning the amount of the nation's income which will be allocated to its children as opposed to other priorities will not be discussed here. Nor will we discuss the question of the effectiveness of provision of day care services to children compared to improvement of urban neighborhoods, radical changes in public schools, or provision of adequate incomes to all families.

Our data indicate that the various forms which day care in California has taken have been closely tied to the particular environmental constraints associated with the funding source. Once a specific type of care emerges, it tends to retain many of its original characteristics. Any attempt to change these characteristics must deal with the resistance from systems of relationship which will be disrupted if the change is effected.

Since the decisions of funding agencies will determine what kinds of day care can flourish, the particular character of the mandatory inclusions and exclusions built into the funding process inevitably have long-term

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[15] For more detailed discussion of these factors see Milich, Prescott and Jones (1969) p. 132-138.

effects. For example, depending on public policy, money can buy uniformity or diversity, large centers or variation in size, public or private sponsorship, group or family day care, socially and racially integrated or segregated programs, day care only or with accompanying social and health services, strict accountability or relative freedom of action.

The obvious conclusion is that the launching of a system of day care is a serious undertaking. On the other hand, our data also indicate that almost any decision will have unanticipated consequences, and that if conditions can be created for decisive action, much healthy self-regulation will occur.

The Things Money Can't Buy

Our data have shown time and again that programs with similar hourly costs in the same community range in quality from exceedingly poor to outstanding. Much more important than money are committed leaders who can find a responsive environment in which to exercise their skills. Committed leadership can't be bought. There may even be an inverse relationship between funds available and degree of commitment; being poor but hopeful has been a status attracting pioneering leaders of outstanding quality. Since there appears to be a positive association between stability and rigidity, as greater stability is achieved the challenge decreases.

Satisfying leadership requires freedom of action, with many opportunities to make decisions and see their effects. As pressures for regimentation and uniformity increase, some leaders have demonstrated impressive determination and devised all sorts of strategies for resisting pressures, in the interest of their conception of good program for children. Eventually, however, they get tired.

Good programs for children are fostered by competent leaders who know what they want and have the autonomy to try and develop it. Autonomy and decision-making always imply the possbility of mistakes and bad judgment by individuals. Administrative systems, especially large ones, characteristically cope with mistakes by making rules to prevent their repetition, or by removing decision-making from the level of action. Consequently, as administrative systems increase in age, size, and complexity, meaningful decision-making often becomes increasingly impossible and is replaced by interminable meetings and memos. To the extent that this state of affairs develops, creative individuals will drop out as they despair over breaking the sterility imposed by too many rules, regulations and reports. Those who stay will rise to their level of incompentence, thus giving testimony to the Peter Principle (Peter and Hull, 1969).

The most pressing issue which we feel that our data highlighted is how to evolve administrative systems which can keep programs for young children person-centered. One of the primary socio-political, as well as educational, questions of our era concerns the maintenance of individuality in a mass bureaucratized society. Upper levels of education have for the most part accepted the bureaucratic model 16/. Nursery education, still hardly within the educational system, has a challenge to remain close to the child's experience, experimenting simultaneously with the ways in which vigorous effective programs can cope with administrative systems, and how administrative systems can foster the development of such programs 17/.

No matter how well-conceived a program is on paper, the benefit to the child will be only as good as the actual experience which takes place. It is our conviction that the most effective teaching takes place when the risk is taken of letting teachers and other significant adults make decisions within a system which offers them both autonomy and supportive guidance. This model is fairly common in small day nurseries and in good homes, but how it works has been infrequently documented. Usually only large systems, which typically adopt a bureaucratic model, have the resources to make deliberate organizational analyses. We suggest that more case studies of the internal structure of diverse educational organizations would be helpful in increasing the range of alternatives available to administrative and supervisory personnel concerned with the development of growth-producing environments.

The Things Money Should Buy

Whether money can buy the answers to the administrative problems of a complex society is, at best, questionable. This larger issue casts its shadow on specific components which must be included in plans for expansion of day care, namely, training of day care personnel and provision for consultation-supervision. Both these components are important for maintaining program quality. Administrative issues also determine the conditions which make efforts at coordination productive.

Training. Our data show that the decision to provide for training in the WPA nursery program reaped rich and lasting dividends. Out of this program came a core of trained and dedicated leaders who passed on their excitement and knowledge of young children to many others who, in turn, assumed leadership roles. Most of this early training was closely tied to direct experience with children. Both teachers and students were working with

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[16] Recently some excellent descriptions of the consequences of this model have been published; see for example Kozol (1967), Herndon (1968), Hentoff (1966), Kohl (1967).

[17] The problems of Child Development Group of Mississippi, described in The Devil Has Slippery Shoes, are illustrative of these challenges (Greenberg, 1969).

children and their parents. Consequently, teaching never became far removed from the reality of day-to-day living with individual children and their families. Head Start bears many similarities to the WPA program, and continuing emphasis on training seems vital to its eventual social impact.

At yet, the majority of people who are now teaching young children have not had training for the job (Katz 1969a). However, the absence of formal training often is compensated by the variety in life experience which many such people bring to their work. Young children learn social roles not by the lecture method, but through observation and practice, especially in play situations. They need opportunities to observe and interact with adults of both sexes and of diverse age and experience, as well as with other children of different ages. Comparably, there is extensive evidence that learning through direct experience is not restricted to young children. Adults also learn through observation and practice, and the role of teacher probably is best learned through actual experience, with guidance.

The needs of both adult and child learners can be served by bringing the opportunity for education out of the formal classroom into the laboratory of day-to-day mutual experience. Lilian Katz (1969b) has proposed that in the preparation of teachers such "in-service helping" should have the following characteristics:

a) It must occur largely in the teacher's classroom. To be helpful, the trainer or helper must see the real-life physical and interpersonal conditions in which the teacher is working.

b) It must emphasize the practical "how to" needs of new and inexperienced teachers. Theory, knowledge, history, philosophy, etc., must follow upon the expressed interests of the trainees.

c) It must be based on a relationship characterized by mutual trust between teacher and trainer. The customary "supervisor" or "inspector" roles developed in many public school districts do not seem to give teachers the support and encouragement they seek.

d) It must encourage the trainee to see herself as experimenter, innovator, learner, and problem-solver and to see these qualities as inherent in the role of the teacher of young children.

e) It should lead to professionalism, using the term "professional" to denote commitment to high standards of performance and continuous efforts to grow in competence, to develop new skills and to acquire deeper and broader knowledge of the nature of development and learning.

This approach to teaching and learning emphasizes the total functioning of the immediate environment, drawing on the unique contributions of the particular adults and children in the group and the physical setting available to them, to implement learning. Such an approach, which capitalizes on existing diversity, is at an opposite pole from the emphasis by some educators on a pre-designed curriculum in which specific skills are to be taught and learned without reference to the complex matrix of experience in which the participants are embedded.

Supervision-Consultation. The approach to training which has been suggested implies changes in the cycle of training-supervision-consultation. Commonly, child development specialists in roles of supervision-consultation impose their general principles upon the receiver 18/. Often these principles are stated without consideration of the ecology of the setting and program which is at issue. Furthermore, much of the day-to-day responsibility for care of children rests with less professionally oriented teachers, who cannot easily replace their own experience and common sense with the advice of experts even when they try. Katz (1969c) has pointed out that it is also important to consider who is the client of preschool programs -- the child, or the parent. Parents judge teaching approaches in terms of their own concern for the child's future. If the parent is important, day care personnel, to a considerable extent, need to consider their goals in relation to the expectations of the parents whose children they serve.

In interviewing directors and teachers in day care centers, we asked questions enabling us to rate them as adult-centered, child-centered, or somewhere in between in their conceptions of their role. Teachers who had clear-cut role concepts (either adult-centered or child-centered) also had consistent attitudes toward authority and warmth, which were reflected in their observed behavior. Teachers who were clearly either adult- or child-centered were more effective in enforcing necessary limits than teachers who were less sure of their role. The leadership style of the director, rated on these same dimensions, was predictive of teacher performance (Prescott and Jones, 1967).

This relationship suggests that good supervision helps people to feel good about what they're doing and to do it with increasing competence and clarity 19/. Asking questions, for example, helps in the clarification process.

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[18] Child development professionals in any era are convinced they know what children need for optimal growth, and perhaps they do. However, a glance at Wolfenstein's (1953) review of changes in the Infant Care Manual over several decades, to say nothing of current controversies in early childhood education, should encourage professional leaders to question the timelessness of their wisdom.

[19] Pygmalion in the Classroom strategy points up the importance of others' positive feelings about one's competence (Rosenthal, 1968).

As practitioners become more articulate, their behavior is likely to become more consistent, and they will also see more alternatives as the important variables are identified and the relationship between general principles and specific examples is clarified. As indicated by our data, effective supervision, including that by licensing workers, continually clarifies the relationship between the on-going action and ultimate goals and values, rather than imposing a particular philosophy (or a method) of child-rearing.

Licensing. As we have described, licensing which includes a strong consultative component can play an important role in facilitating the establishment and maintenance of quality day care programs. One argument for encouraging the development of day care by the private sector is that private care costs less than public care. However, licensing inevitably accompanies private care. As described earlier, facilities in California have increased at a phenomenal rate, but the state legislature has not provided the funds necessary for adequate supervision by the licensing department.

To be effective, licensing departments need adequate numbers of staff who are interested in the challenges which licensing offers and have, or can be given the opportunity to learn, the special skills which it entails. It is doubtful whether state legislatures will provide this kind of support without pressure or help from federal sources. Compared to the costs of other services, a little support for licensing would go a long way in promoting quality in care.

Licensing for family day care has received even less attention. The bulk of family day care in this country undoubtedly is unlicensed. There may be more effective ways of regulating family care than routine licensing [20], but it is clear that consultation of some type is vital in order to achieve good family day care for many children.

Coordination. Throughout this monograph we have described numerous examples of cooperation within the leadership network. Effective regulation of quality and promotion of good standards has been a predictable outcome of peer group cooperation [21]. In addition, there has been a great deal of voluntary coordination of services. Our data indicate that productive attempts at coordination were associated with the following circumstances: a small group of leaders who knew each other personally and had some understanding of each other's program, considerable authority to act by those involved, and, finally, matters of real concern to focus the task.

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[20] Norris Class discusses alternatives to licensing in his authoritative monograph Licensing of Child Care Facilities by State Welfare Departments.

[21] We see the development of ways to bring people who are caring for children into contact with their peers as one effective approach to upgrading quality. This would apply not only to directors and teachers, but also to family day care mothers. Provision of opportunities to visit and observe other settings also is helpful; it suggests alternatives and makes the job more exciting.

In recent years the proliferation of services for young children has proceeded at a pace faster than the community's ability to keep track of them. Perhaps California is a prime example of the complexity and confusion which can result from such rapid expansion. The personal contact which existed in the past is no longer possible.

To meet the need for coordination of services, Community Coordinated Child Care (4-C) was initiated under a Congressional mandate contained in the 1967 Economic Opportunity Amendments. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity were to develop the mechanics for coordination of children's program at the federal, state, and local levels. The purpose of the 4-C program is to assist states and local communities in organizing diverse and fragmented services into comprehensive programs of support for families and children ("4-C Gets Underway," 1969). The 4-C committee is to be broadly representative of the community, including users and givers of service and other agencies offering services to children.

Attempts at coordination may work well in communities where the circumstances still exist which originally produced cooperative efforts in California. In large communities the process is much more complex. In this milieu many participants no longer know each other or are familiar with programs other than their own. Consequently, they find it difficult to focus on important and realistic bases for coordination. Even more discouraging is the necessity for obtaining the authority to act from levels far removed from the immediate concern. Given these circumstances, a broadly representative working group is most difficult to hold together, since efforts at coordination are tedious and time-consuming.

Money can buy staff time necessary to facilitate coordination. Money can also provide sufficient enticements to promote it. The outcome, however, may be implementation of a solution for which no one accepts real responsibility.

An attempt at coordination of services is a very effective way to come to an understanding of environmental constraints that limit pursuit of goals which, in the abstract, seem logical and desirable. This study has attempted to describe how constraints and strategies for coping with them have determined the characteristics of the emerging social institution of day care in one metropolitan area. In so doing, hopefully, we have shed some light on the nature of the possible.

APPENDIX A1

TELEPHONE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE CONCERNING LICENSE APPLICATIONS

1. After you had decided to start a school what was the first positive step which you took?
2. Then what did you do?
3. How did you hear about the group meeting of the State Department of Social Welfare?
4. How long after attending the first group meeting was it before you came in for a pre-application interview?
5. Approximately how long (days, weeks) did it take you to get all of the application papers filled out?
6. Which part of the application gave you the most trouble?
7. (a) Did you find the State Department of Social Welfare staff helpful?
   (b) Were you able to get all the information you needed?
   (c) Did you have another important source for help?
   (d) What about the Fire Department?
   (e) Building and Safety?
   (f) Zoning?
8. (a) All in all, what part of the application or Department really cause the most trouble?
   (b) How did you solve this?
9. (a) Was the worker who processed your application the same one who was assigned to you?
   (b) If not or if so - Is this helpful to have the same person or would it have been better to have different persons?
10. Are there any changes which you would like to see in the licensing process which would make it easier or more effective?
11. How did you happen to establish a day nursery?

APPENDIX B1

QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO OTHER STATES CONCERNING DAY CARE PRACTICES

Please return to:

Research Department
PACIFIC OAKS COLLEGE
714 West California Blvd.
Pasadena, California 91105

1. Do you have any provision in your statute concerning personality or temperatment of persons to be licensed? If so, would you state the exact wording?

2. Do you have a standard concerning personality and temperament? If so, would you please state? How is this standard applied?

3. What are your actual practices when
   a. personality is the only factor which would prevent issuing a license?
   b. personality is the most important factor, but is coupled with other factors?

4. Are you satisfied with your provisions concerning personality of applicant? Please specify.

5. Do you have a provision in your statute concerning training and/or experience of directors? Of teachers? Would you please state the exact wording?

6. Do you have a standard regarding training and experience? Please state. How is this standard applied?
   A. For directors
   B. For teachers

7. What are your actual practices regarding training and experience?

8. Are you satisfied with your provisions for training and experience of staff? Please specify.

9. Do you feel that it is important to require a certain amount of formal schooling or do you feel that the emphasis should be on training in nursery practices and early childhood education?

10. Do you have a provision in your statute concerning quality of physical space? If so, would you please state?

11. Do you have a standard regarding physical space? Please state. How is this standard applied?

12. What are your actual practices regarding physical space
    a. Regarding amount and/or quality of play equipment indoors and outdoors?
    b. Regarding organization of physical space?
    c. Regarding maintenance of facilities and play equipment?

13. Are you satisfied with your provisions regarding quality of physical space? Please comment.

14. Do you have a provision in your statute regarding (a) ratio of children to adults? (b) minimum age of children to be accepted? (c) a specification of adult-child ratio based on age of children?

15. Do you have a standard for these? If so, would you please state? How is this standard applied?

16. What are your actual practices in these areas? Do you make any exceptions based on excellence of staff and physical facilities?

17. Are you satisfied with your provisions in this area? Please comment.

18. Do you have any statute, standard, or guidelines which limit the maximum capacity of a center, assuming that all other standards have been met? If so, please specify.

19. If you do not have provisions which limit maximum capacity, would you favor such a provision? Please comment.

20. Do you have standards and procedures which you consider critical to quality of care which have not been touched on here? Please specify.

21. What recommendations would you make for changes in the licensing function of your state?

22. Currently, what are the most pressing problems which your Department of Licensing is now facing in respect to group care for young children?

Could we please have a copy of your licensing statute and standards which are specifically concerned with group programs for young children?

APPENDIX C1

QUALIFICATIONS FOR CHILDREN'S CENTER PERMIT *

Type A Supervision Permit (7935)

(1) Possession of a teaching credential described under Education Code Section 16625.

(2) One year of successful supervision experience prior to June 30, 1952, in a child care program administered under the provisions of the California Education Code.

(3) Two years of successful teaching or supervision experience with preschool, kindergarten, or school-age children, a bachelor's degree granted by an approved institution, as defined in Section 6102(b), and the requirements of either (A) or (B).

(A) A major, as defined by the institution granting the degree, in one of the following fields:

1. Anthropology
2. Child development
3. Child psychology
4. Early childhood education
5. Family life education
6. Home economics education with emphasis on child development, or family life education, or both
7. Nursery education
8. Psychology
9. Sociology
10. Other appropriate behavioral sciences.

(B) Sixteen semester hours of course work including at least 2 semester hours of supervision of instruction and 14 semester hours selected from a field or fields specified in (A), except anthropology and sociology.

Type B Supervision Permit (7936)

(1) A bachelor's or higher degree from an approved institution as defined in Section 6102(b).

(2) Sixteen semester hours of course work, including at least two semester hours of supervision of instruction and fourteen semester hours in one or more fields listed in subsection (a) (2) of Section 7935.

(b) Postponement of Requirements. The Type B supervision permit, valid for a two-year period, may be issued only once on the basis of postponed requirements (unless Section 7932(f) authorizes a new permit) to an applicant who holds the degree described in (a) (1). The Type B supervision permit so issued may be renewed three times for successive two-year periods upon fulfilling both of the following:

(1) Completion during the term of the permit to be renewed of four semester hours in fields specified in subsection (a) (2) of Section 7935.

(2) A year of successful experience gained within that period of time.

Instructional Permit (7937)

(1) A bachelor's or higher degree from an approved institution.

(2) One of the following:
(A) A major specified in Section 7935 (a) (3) (A).

(B) Twelve semester hours of course work selected from a field or fields listed in Section 7935 (a) (3) (A), except anthropology and sociology.

Instructional Permits Postponement of Requirements. An instructional permit may be issued once on the basis of postponement requirements (unless Section 7932(f) authorizes a new permit) to an applicant who meets one of the following requirements:

1. A bachelor's or higher degree from an approved institution.

2. Both of the following requirements:

    (A) Sixty semester hours of course work, including at least 12 semester hours of course work described in subsection (a) (2).

    (B) Two years of successful experience as an "assistant" defined in Sections 8000 and 8007 or as a teacher in any of the following:

        1. A preschool program operated by a public or private school agency.

        2. A day nursery as defined in Section 7930.

Provisional Instructional Permit. (7938)

(1) Sixty semester hours of course work.
(2) One year of successful experience described in Section 7937(b) (2) (B) and one of the following:

    (A) Thirty semester hours of course work.

    (B) Completion of a college or university program in pre-school education approved by the State Board of Education.

    (C) Current enrollment in a four-year college or in a junior college program acceptable for college credit toward a baccalaureate degree.

(3) Four years of successful experience described in Section 7937(b) (2) (B) .

(4) Verification that he has previously held a provisional permit and since the issuance of his previous permit has completed four semester hours of course work described in Section 7937 (a) (2).

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* Summarized from memo issued by State Department of Education (Sacramento: 1952).

APPENDIX C2

PERMIT AUTHORIZING SERVICE IN INSTRUCTION IN CHILDREN'S CENTERS*

An applicant for the INSTRUCTIONAL PERMIT for service in a children's center shall present

(a) Verification of
  (1) Bachelor's or higher degree from an approved institution
  and
  (2) One of the following:
    (A) a degree major in

- anthropology
- child development
- child psychology
- early childhood education
- family life education
- home economics education with emphasis on child development or family life education or both
- nursery education
- psychology
- sociology
- other appropriate behaviorial sciences

    (B) Twelve semester hours of course work selected from a field or fields listed in Section (A) above except anthropology and sociology.

(b) Postponement of requirements.
An instructional permit may be issued ONCE for a two-year period to an applicant who verifies ONE of the following:
  (1) A bachelor's or higher degree from an approved institution
  (2) Both of the following:
    (A) Sixty semester hours of course work including at least 12 semester hours selected from a field or fields listed under Section (a) (2) (A) above except anthropology and sociology.

    (B) Two years** of successful experience as an assistant under a teacher or supervisor in pre-school educational programs or as a teacher in a pre-school program operated by a public or private school agency or in a licensed day nursery as defined in ***California Administrative Code, Title 5, Section 7930.

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[*] A summary adapted from California Education Code and Administrative Code, Title 5.

[**] A "year of experience" means paid or volunteer service in a licensed day nursery for not less than three hours a day for at least 100 working days. This may be accumulated over a period of five fiscal years.

[***] (See Appendix C2 page 180.

APPENDIX C2 (cont.)

PERMIT AUTHORIZING SERVICE IN INSTRUCTION IN CHILDREN'S CENTERS*

An applicant for the PROVISIONAL INSTRUCTIONAL PERMIT shall verify ONE of the following:

(a) Sixty semester hours of course work.

(b) One year** of successful experience as an assistant under a teacher or supervisor in pre-school educational programs or as a teacher of public or private pre-school program or a licensed day nursery (***California Administrative Code, Title 5, Section 7930) and One of the following:

  (1) Thirty semester hours of course work.

  (2) Completion of a college or university program in pre-school education approved by the State Board of Education.

  (3) Current enrollment**** in a four year college or junior college program acceptable toward a bachelor's degree.

(c) Four years** of successful experience as assistant under a teacher or supervisor in pre-school educational programs or as a teacher in a public or private pre-school program or in a licensed day nursery as defined in ***California Administrative Code, Title 5, Section 7930.

(d) Verification of a provisional permit previously held and completion of 4 semester hours of course work completed since issuance of this previous permit in courses selected from

child development
child psychology
early childhood education
family life education
nursery education

home economics education with emphasis on child development of family life education or both

psychology

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* and ** For an explanation see footnote of Appendix C2 page 179.

*** "Day nursery" means any type of group day care program for children operated by a person, association, or organization holding a license or permit to conduct the day nursery issued by the state in which the day nursery is maintained. Group day care programs include but are not limited to the following: (1) day nurseries for the children of working mothers; (2) nursery schools for children under the minimum age for admission to public schools; (3) parent cooperative nursery schools; (4) play groups for pre-school children and (5) programs giving after-school care to school children.

**** Current enrollment must be verified by a letter from the registrar of the institution.

APPENDIX D1

LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your current position?

   How long have you held it?

2. What is your professional and educational background?
   Please attach a resume if you have one available. If not, list

   a. employment history (positions, employees, dates)
   b. educational history (degrees, fields, dates).

3. In what organizations related to this field have you participated? (Please note offices and committee memberships held, with approximate dates.)

   In which have you been most active?

4. Why are you involved in the field of early childhood education? Most helpful would be a brief professional - autobiographical sketch answering such questions as these:

   a. Have you worked professionally with young children? If so, when did this field attract you? Why have you stayed in it? What do you care most about: children? families? enabling mothers to work? etc.

   b. What people or events have influenced you? In what issues have you been most involved?

   c. What are your current concerns related to this field?

   d. What goals do you hope to see accomplished in the future?

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